



Daily Report

East Europe

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Hungary's Varkonyi at Geneva Conference

*AU100940 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian
5 Feb 88 pp 1,3*

[MTI report: "Peter Varkonyi Addresses Geneva Disarmament Conference—There Are No Chemical Weapons in Hungary"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi addressed the plenary session of the Geneva Disarmament Conference on 4 February.

In his introduction, the head of Hungarian diplomacy concluded the following:

"It is encouraging that the conference began its work this year under more favorable international conditions than in previous years. The international atmosphere is more relaxed and favorable developments are under way in East-West relations. The Soviet-U.S. summit of December 1987 led to results that can be evaluated as a breakthrough in nuclear disarmament, and comprehensive talks are under way on strengthening the agreements on reducing strategic weapons and limiting antimissile systems. The recent efforts directed at finding a solution for the focal points of regional crises show that the favorable trends affect not only the East-West relations and the disarmament issue, but also begin to affect the whole of international relations.

"Under such circumstances, it is not unjustified to look forward to this year's activity by the multilateral disarmament and arms limitation forums, including the disarmament conference, with new expectations and renewed hope. I hope I am not mistaken in believing that the presence and the words of my esteemed Indonesian, Italian, and FRG colleagues at today's meeting are also connected with this expectation. Conditions are ripe for the activity of the disarmament conference to become effective and to lead to tangible results.

"We think that recognition of the fact that the mutual interdependence of various countries and geographical regions is a reality of our age is gaining increasing acceptance in international relations. The mutual interdependence of the countries in the world, something that is most dramatically reflected by the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, has increased to such an extent that peaceful coexistence and cooperation can be the only rational form of existence for the countries of the world. It is obvious today that global challenges know no boundaries. We must accept the fact that national efforts or alliance efforts are not enough to avoid the nuclear danger, to ease world economic problems, and to eliminate malnutrition, famine, terrorism, environmental pollution, and the regional crisis centers.

"At the current level of technical development, particularly of military technology, and under the shadow of the stock of weapons accumulated in the world, no country can guarantee

its own security by exclusively military means and by increasing its own military power. Only through cooperation and with strong political will, and by means of negotiations is it possible to create modern conditions for security, conditions that—by eliminating the capacity for mutual threat—make it possible for confidence and cooperation between the countries of the world to evolve. We saw these realities reflected in the recent Soviet-U.S. summit, which led to an exemplary advance in arms limitation and the reduction of military tension. Another important result of the summit is that, following the signing of the agreement on the elimination of intermediate- and short-range missiles, the Soviet-U.S. bilateral nuclear disarmament talks have become continuous. We consider it particularly important to make sure that the dynamics of these negotiations does not abate and that the tasks of comprehensively reducing strategic nuclear arms as well as maintaining the validity of the ABM Treaty are fulfilled as soon as possible. It is indispensable that the negotiations on the elimination of chemical weapons be successfully concluded as soon as possible.

"We must definitely make use of the favorable change in the political atmosphere to achieve lasting and irreversible changes in the field of disarmament in Europe. In order to achieve this, we must take a common stand against the extremist efforts for so-called 'compensatory measures' that would reduce or even eliminate the favorable effects of the agreement on the abolition of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear arms systems. The countries affected must now try to start genuine negotiations on disarmament with respect to conventional weapons in Europe and on further strengthening confidence and security as soon as possible.

"As is well-known, preparations for these negotiations are under way within the framework of the Vienna talks, based on the Budapest Appeal made by the Warsaw Pact member states in June 1986, and of the NATO response. In addition to the members of the two military-political alliances, all the other countries in Europe are extremely interested in a considerable reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe as soon as possible, in eliminating the existing inequalities and disproportions, and in eliminating the ability to start a surprise attack. The countries participating in the process of European security and cooperation have good opportunities to work out regional disarmament and arms reduction measures. Considering the quantity and quality of conventional armed forces and arms concentrated in Europe, the effects of a cut in these forces and of the gradual reduction of conventional warfare capabilities to the level required solely for defense would by far exceed the really modest geographical boundaries of our continent and herald a new era in global security policy."

"According to our experiences the improvement in the international atmosphere and the constructive development of the relations between the two big powers did not reduce but, on the contrary, increased the responsibility

and opportunities of the small and medium-sized countries in making use of the favorable trends and strengthening them. To this end, there is a need for the conscious activity and initiative of every country at wider international forums, including the disarmament conference.

"Both in its bilateral relations and at international forums, Hungary is striving to actively contribute—in accordance with its modest possibilities—to the consolidation of a more relaxed international atmosphere and to the attainment of agreements that guarantee security. In the framework of the United Nations, we are taking an active part in formulating a comprehensive concept of international security. We have made proposals to encourage an agreement at the CSCE conference in Vienna. Similarly, we seek to promote the formulation of the mandate for the talks to be held on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. In a publicized joint appeal made with the Finnish Social Democratic Party and the Italian Socialist Party, the MSZMP proposed to summon experts from European countries that do not possess nuclear weapons to a conference aimed at examining, in an open dialogue, the opportunities for the soonest possible progress in the field of security, confidence-building, and disarmament in Europe. These political parties started from the premise that all countries are interested in making the disarmament process irreversible. And, although they acknowledge the importance of the role played by the nuclear powers in safeguarding peace and security, these parties do not consider that the role of these powers is exclusive. These parties think that we are not only the objects of the disarmament process, but also its active and committed creators.

"The Hungarian delegation also wishes to contribute to making the activity of the disarmament conference more effective."

Analyzing the issue on the agenda of the conference, Peter Varkonyi pointed out the following:

"Although the main responsibility for nuclear disarmament falls on the nuclear powers, primarily the Soviet Union and the United States, other countries, and this conference, too, cannot remain idle either. This issue has been on the agenda of this conference for a long time. It is unfortunate that the conference has not yet worked out adequate genuine and formal approaches to the issue. In spite of this, we think that this conference can contribute to promoting nuclear disarmament without questioning the responsibility of those nuclear powers that are primarily affected or accepting the tasks of other forums of negotiations. The five nuclear powers and the majority of the potential nuclear states are represented in this body.

"Conditions are, therefore, ripe for the conference to join the process of nuclear disarmament talks by advancing the bilateral or other narrower negotiations, and complementing their activity.

"The ban on nuclear tests is a step of key importance on the road to halting the nuclear arms race and leading to nuclear disarmament. The continuation of nuclear tests cannot be compatible with the efforts of the overwhelming majority of countries to avoid the perfecting of the existing weapons and the development of new types of nuclear weapons. Our position remains unchanged: an immediate, total and final ban on nuclear tests.

"We know that some countries have a different approach to this issue. We cannot disregard realities. Our view is that the difference in opinions does not inevitably hinder the beginning of genuine activity in the specific areas in which positions are coming closer together in spite of the existing differences.

"The coordination of bilateral and multilateral efforts plays an important role in the road leading to a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests. We welcome the negotiations that have started between the Soviet Union and the United States which, through talks which have several stages but which are continuous, try to reach a total ban. We regard the so-called limit agreements, the system of verifying them, and the concepts related to further reducing the number and degree of these tests as necessary steps to reach a general ban on the nuclear tests. In this respect, the Hungarian side is ready to support these steps.

"We regard the prevention of the arms race in space as the cardinal issue of international security and disarmament. We also share the view that space is the common property of mankind and it has to be preserved and made available for peaceful activity that serves common interests.

"It is our conviction that the disarmament conference can in many ways contribute to preventing an arms race in space and to working out guarantees for peaceful activity in outer space. So far, the activity of the committee that deals with the subject has contributed to a better understanding of the existing problems. The time has come for the committee to start working out concrete measures and international agreements. We would consider it expedient for the committee to start working out a system that would guarantee the safety of satellites orbiting the earth, in other words, would ensure the necessary immunity for their undisturbed operation. It would also be expedient for the committee to examine the creation of a system of verification that would guarantee the peaceful scope of space research and activity.

"A ban on chemical weapons has justifiably been at the center of interest of the participants in disarmament conferences in recent years. To the satisfaction of all of us, there has been promising progress in the formulation of a draft agreement on this issue. I must, however, now express my concern over the developments in the recent stage of the negotiations and over the events outside the negotiations, events do not bode well for a quick agreement."

"Hungary continues to take a stand in favor of a total and strictly controlled ban on chemical weapons and a total elimination of the existing stocks of such weapons. It is

unfortunate that the compromise proposals made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in recent years have, so far, failed to bring the justly expected results.

"I would like to express my appreciation to the Soviet Government for being the first to open, last year, the Shihan chemical weapons site for inspection by the delegations and the international press present at the talks, and for making public the data on its stocks of chemical weapons. These steps represent an important contribution to strengthening mutual confidences and improving the atmosphere of the talks.

"At the same time, however, progress in the talks is hindered by decisions that lead to the stock of chemical weapons being maintained and even increased, instead of eliminated. Prospects for reaching an agreement are also impaired by a U.S. decision to start production of binary chemical weapons. These unfavorable developments call our attention to the fact that the disarmament conference must multiply its efforts in order to work out an agreement as soon as possible.

"Speaking about this issue, I would like to officially confirm that the Hungarian People's Republic has neither chemical weapons nor the industrial facilities to produce chemical weapons. The Hungarian People's Republic does not conduct any kind of chemical weapons research, nor does it wish to acquire chemical weapons in the future. I can also confirm that other states do not store stocks of chemical weapons, nor do they carry out such activity on the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic.

"Although the issue of conventional arms is not currently on the agenda of the disarmament conference, these weapons occupy fourth place on the list of issues representing the work of the conference, after nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. Therefore, there are no obstacles in principle to this forum putting this issue on its agenda.

"The achieved and expected results in the field of restricting nuclear weapons and in nuclear disarmament put the issue of reducing conventional armed forces and their weapons in the forefront. At present, we are witnessing precisely this phenomenon in Europe, but the problem is by no means limited to our continent. The proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact member states—including Hungary—refer to Europe, but they have significance for other regions, too. Reviewing these proposals can also be useful in the framework of the disarmament conference, or other UN disarmament forums."

In concluding of his speech, Peter Varkonyi dealt with proposals directed at making the activity of the disarmament conference more up-to-date, effective, and successful.

"I believe that the third extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly dealing with disarmament issues—to be held in June this year—will provide a good opportunity to review the operation of the disarmament mechanism, to carry out the necessary modifications, and to explore more effective negotiation forms and procedures.

"Our proposals do not cover all the issues, but we are ready to thoroughly consider and debate any other proposal that serves the aforementioned goals. The Hungarian delegation participates in the activity of the disarmament conference and prepares for the extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly with this intention in mind and in this spirit. We are striving to promote the strengthening of peace and international security, and the implementation of disarmament"—Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi concluded his speech.

SDRY Delegate Addresses Geneva Conference
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GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Geneva, Feb. 9 (TANJUG)—All conditions exist for the disarmament conference completing the convention on the comprehensive suspension and elimination of chemical weapons, said head of the Yugoslav delegation Ambassador Marko Kosin at the disarmament conference plenary session in Geneva today.

He said that the above would also contribute to the conference intensifying negotiations on nuclear disarmament and to the prevention of the expansion of the arms race in space.

Noting that security cannot be defined or secured by accords of military blocs alone, but by an active participation of the international community as a whole, Kosin stated that it is impossible to accept the argumentation attempting to deny the right of the conference, the sole multilateral body in the world in the field of arms, to negotiate on these issues.

Kosin assessed that the U.S.-Soviet Treaty on the Elimination of Short- and Intermediate-Range Nuclear Missiles from Europe holds the central position in positive trends of putting an end to the arms race and in the evolution of disarmament. He added that the treaty is also a result of efforts by the overall international community, which has been and remains united in its demand for disarmament.

The Yugoslav ambassador said that the resumption of the super-powers' talks on the 50-percent cut of nuclear strategic weapons represents one of the most ambitious negotiating projects so far. The Yugoslav representative maintains that a commencement of negotiations on nuclear tactical weapons and conventional weapons can be expected soon.

The head of the Yugoslav delegation set out that, parallelly with the improvement in the East-West relations, there are stands attempting to impose old solutions to security problems. Hence, he added, the upcoming international activities, such as the special U.N. General Assembly session on disarmament, should contribute to stepping up the favorable development of East-West relations and its expansion to all regions of the world.

Recalling that Yugoslavia will in two weeks host a Balkan conference, in which all foreign ministers of the region will participate for the first time, Kosin said that the bloc, ideological and other divisions did not represent an obstacle to the staging of the conference. Such conferences facilitate the work of the disarmament conference and make the achievement of its aims more realistic, assessed Kosin.

AWP Journal on Crime Prevention
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[Sami Gega article: "Intensive and Professional Preventive Work—A Task for the Party and the Specialized Bodies of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"]

[Text] Our socialist order has no economic, political, or social base to cause the development of criminality. However, our society has not yet freed itself from specific symptoms of it. This can be explained, not only because of the existence of vestiges of the past in people's consciousness and the pressure exerted by the bourgeois-revisionist siege, but also because of a range of shortcomings noticeable in some places in educational work carried out with people, in the management of property, and the total enforcement of laws and regulations.

Bearing in mind the complex of factors that influence people toward attitudes alien to socialism, the party instructs that the measures taken to nip crimes and every antisocialist symptom in the bud should also be complex, and that priority should be given to a more intense professionalism in the preventive work of party organizations and their instruments, including the organs of justice and of internal affairs.

The political and ideological aspect of preventive work must be better understood, and carried out with the greatest possible effectiveness in the course of waging the class war.

It is well-known that as long as classes and the class war exist, and as long as the imperialist-revisionist siege lasts, various negative phenomena will be objectively present, constituting a regressive force opposed to our socialist order, though to a varying extent and assuming different forms. There are people who still hold on to the past and are not in step with the whole of society, just as there are others who fall prey to alien influences and are predisposed to antisocialist attitudes and deeds. There are also elements of the overthrown classes or those who have degenerated during the struggle for socialist construction, who from a consciously hostile standpoint organize themselves into antisocialist activities, and who arouse and nourish various kinds of criminality in others, such as the theft and damage of socialist property, crimes against the individual, down to criminal acts of a deeply hostile nature. The workers' class and its state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the leadership of the party, combats these phenomena. The organs of justice and of internal affairs have a particular place in this struggle.

Of course, our socialist society is concerned that we have as few negative elements as possible, and as few people who commit antisocialist acts, break laws, or exhibit symptoms alien to communist morality. From this arises the need for intensive and professional educational and

organizational work to protect our people from antisocialist acts and crimes, to neutralize hostile elements, and to strike a timely blow against any of their hostile or malevolent acts.

Of course, this is not simple or easy. Preventive work in particular, which is in itself a broad and important front in the struggle of the party and its apparatus, demands from party base organizations and mass organizations as much good management and determination as it demands political clarity and maturity, care, and tact, because it concerns a conception of the correct conduct of the class war as a whole, and within the bosom of the people in particular. It requires that party base organizations, Communists, and cadres not be liberal or sectarian, and that they must be led in all their work by the teaching of the party, to protect people from "diseases" and to heal the "sick." This party instruction is of particular value, especially for the organs of justice and internal affairs.

Previous practice has proved that effective preventive work against alien manifestations and criminal acts demands an intimate knowledge of the dynamics of such behavior and a deep analysis of their origins, the situation in the environment where they become apparent, and, on this basis, the proper definition of the political, organizational, and administrative measures that need to be taken to prevent the birth and spread of such forms of behavior. It has also proved that a high degree of effectiveness in preventive work requires every body at every level of the party, the state, the mass organizations, and economic bodies to be set in motion, and the whole of public opinion to be mobilized and activated.

In understanding and implementing party directives in their entirety, the preventive work carried out by party bodies and organizations in many districts, workplaces, and agricultural cooperatives has had an effect on arousing public opinion against alien behavior and criminal acts. In the last 2 years, in comparison with 1985, there has been a significant reduction in the incidence of crime in the districts of Tirana, Elbasan, Tropoje, Tepelene, and so forth.

However, the fact that there is still an incidence of crime in general, and of crimes against socialist and personal property in particular, shows that preventive work in its educational and organizational aspects is not everywhere properly regarded and carried out. There are committees and party organizations which carry out educational work in spurts and campaigns, and unspecifically, just as there are also state bodies, enterprise administrations, and agricultural cooperatives that exhibit shortcomings in the management of property and in the exercise of control over production and the movement of goods. The party, at its Ninth Congress and at the Central Committee Politburo meeting in March last year, drew the attention of party base organizations to the need for a qualitative improvement in ideopolitical work, to educate people in the virtues of communist morality, to

involve them in the struggle against alien behavior which leads to the path of crime, and for better organization, management, and tighter controls, blocking every outlet for immature people who are disposed toward crime.

In enforcing this directive, the party base organizations and party apparatus, including the organs of justice and internal affairs, are carrying out more intensive, professional, and varied work, down to work with individual people whose upbringing is defective, and who are more likely to embark on the road of crime.

The example of Tirana District shows how effective the crime prevention work of the party becomes when it includes every organization of the party and its apparatus. This district has acquired valuable experience in the struggle against alien behavior and criminal acts. To prevent these things and to wage an effective struggle against them, special staffs have been created in districts, regions, city districts, and workplaces, involving cadres of the state, the mass organizations, the justice organs, and the police. They know the situation in every area and meet regularly to analyze matters and prescribe measures. Once or twice a year they organize *aktivs* at city district level on the struggle against alien behavior and crime. Party and mass organizations at workplaces in this district have organized a sponsorship system. Those elements with bad habits or who have undergone a criminal sentence are placed in the care of the collective and involved in mass actions and in political, cultural, and sports activities. On this basis, achievements have been recorded in diverting people from the wrong path, and in the reeducation of people who have committed mistakes. This experience is being followed in other districts too, for example, in Kukes, Lushnje, and elsewhere, where, in addition, a healthy and revolutionary public opinion is being created and strengthened to oppose every incidence of alien behavior.

Practice shows that preventive work has its educational as well as organizational aspects. The party teaches us that working people must be educated and made politically and ideologically aware, but also given working conditions where order, discipline, and strict state and social control hold sway. However, order and control are not merely required in the production, transport, and distribution spheres. They are necessary in every field to guarantee the harmonious rate of development of society and the nation, in conformity with party ideology and policy, and with the laws of the state and the interests of our socialist society. Where rules are enforced, work goes well. So, at those enterprises and workplaces where the rules governing the management of property are enforced to the last detail, and where production is documented, there are no losses, damage, or theft. The examples of the "Dinamo" factory in Tirana, the Korce food enterprise, the Permet agricultural enterprise, and so forth testify to this.

The prosecutor's office, the court, the investigator's office, and our internal affairs organs have an important role to play in preventive work, and could perform it better.

The Ninth AWP Congress stressed that in the work of these organs "there is room for more preventive work, coordinating the work done by the organs of the party and the state, the mass organizations, and the organs of the economy" (Ramiz Alia, "Report to the Ninth AWP Congress," p 89). Led by this party directive, the justice and internal affairs organs have intensified their work and raised their standard in this area, thus giving more assistance not only to maintaining the legal and socialist order, but to educating the masses with a feeling of respect for the law.

The preventive work of the justice and internal affairs organs includes a range of issues, extends over a number of fields, and is carried out in many various ways. The intensity and effectiveness of this work depends first of all upon a correct political conception of their task on the part of the working people of these organs, and then upon the revolutionary character of their working methods.

Starting from the party directive that "we should make people who make mistakes useful to themselves and to society," and that "we should have fewer trials and courts," these organs have enforced preventive measures more strongly. As a result, considering matters objectively and in a class spirit, and involving the opinions of the masses more, the number of issues solved by common agreement, counselling, and other preventive measures has risen. In 1986 and in the first 6 months of last year, the solution of problems through counseling and other preventive measures more than doubled, while the number of conflicts solved by common agreement almost doubled. It is a positive fact that about 97 percent of persons given counseling not only abandoned their mistaken path, but became active people in the fulfillment of their tasks.

The implementation of such a policy on the part of these organs has had a positive effect not only in diverting people from mistaken paths, but also in strengthening the moral and political unity of the people, increasing the healthy opinion of the masses against signs of criminality, and in reducing crime in general and economic crime in particular, which in some districts such as Korce, Permet, and so on, has fallen 15-30 percent.

Despite these achievements, when the problems are viewed with a critical eye and in light of the demands of the Ninth AWP Congress, there is no room for complacency. It is the task of party organizations in these organs to increase their efforts to further raise the standard of preventive work, so that it will respond better to the dynamics of crime as a whole and to its particular tendencies, and so that it will always be balanced and will find support in public opinion.

The struggle against antisocialist thinking and activity is first and foremost the task of party bodies and organizations, but the organs of justice and internal affairs, and the party's specialized instruments, must also increase

their contribution in this field. They must bring more problems to the attention of the party organs, state bodies, and the mass organizations, in order to ensure better coordination in the struggle against crime. It is not sufficient simply to supply data about the number of crimes or criminal offenses, or, the nature and category of the crimes and who committed them. The party demands, on the basis of the scientific study of this data, that the causes of these crimes be identified, that opinions be stated, and that specific measures be taken to eliminate the causes. There are opportunities of doing this everywhere. The justice organs and the Tirana District Directorate of Internal Affairs have gained valuable experience in this field. Both together and separately they have undertaken projects to research the character of young people's crimes, and of economic crime, crimes against the individual, improper behavior, and so on. What is even more positive is that these studies, under the leadership of the district party committee, have become the subject of discussion and analysis at forums of the party, the state, and the mass organizations, and have subsequently been discussed in those collectives and city districts where there have been the most problems. The measures suggested for specifically directed work and the better organization of internal and social control have been implemented. In this way a broad struggle against alien and criminal behavior has been better organized, extending into every apartment block, city district, village, and enterprise. The organs of justice and internal affairs in the districts of Korce, Elbasan, and Lushnje have also made qualitative improvements in this direction.

However, this is not being done everywhere. In some districts the organs of justice and internal affairs are still content to list data which they send to party and state bodies centrally and in the districts, at a time when their own working people should be persistently struggling to provide solutions themselves to the problems they have raised. A deep conviction must be created that the justice and internal affairs organs are bodies that must insist on the enforcement of discipline everywhere, bodies whose task it is to demand the strict enforcement of the law by every organization or cadre.

The party teaches us that an important factor in preventive work is spreading knowledge of the law and educating the masses in an awareness of socialist law. More professional work on the part of the justice and internal affairs organs is demanded in this field. It is true that recently, in implementing the decisions of the Ninth AWP Congress, more and better work has been done in publicizing and enforcing the law. Cadres in the legal field in the districts of Korce, Berat, Kukes, and Durres have been working better in this direction. Their work in explaining the law and making it known is better adapted to their audience, with specific examples drawn from life at the enterprises and agricultural cooperatives of the district. With this aim in mind, these districts have involved all their lawyers and other able cadres. Under the leadership of party committees, laws have been

explained to cadres in various fields, to managers in the economy, financial sector cadres, and others. It is important to pass on this experience to other districts, so that the correct interpretation and spreading awareness of the law will eliminate certain signs of formalism, shallowness, and over-generality.

The justice and internal affairs organs have a large number of social activists, who nationally amount to tens of thousands. Where assistant judges, people's prosecutors, members of voluntary cooperation groups, and so forth are properly assessed and supervised, their work in the struggle against signs of crime and other antisocialist acts and attitudes is very productive. Since their activity in every apartment block, city district, village, and workplace is close to people, they are familiar with the situation of people in every environment, and have the opportunity to render great assistance in strengthening public opinion and preventing criminal acts.

However, if these social activists are to play the part they should, they must be chosen more carefully, and care must be devoted to their professional training and to giving them specific objectives. There is room for more work in these directions, especially on the part of the prosecutor's office and the people's police. The often token meetings of social activists once or twice a year, which take place in some districts, are inadequate. They could discuss laws and professional topics based on problems that arise during the class war. The experience of the internal affairs organs of Tirana District, who discuss professional topics every 3 months at city district or agricultural cooperative level, must be spread elsewhere.

The party has long made it clear that the success of the work of the justice and internal affairs organs, including their preventive work, and their work in detecting and eliminating hostile and malevolent activity of whatever form, depends greatly on the degree of closeness of the cadres of these organs with the people. Among the masses, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed the cadres of these organs: "You will find the support and love of the people. It is there that you will learn about and detect the enemy" (Enver Hoxha, "Always Vigilant," Vol 1, p 598).

Led by this guideline, and by the principle that the people come before everything, the justice and internal affairs organs have taken great care to foster their links with the people. This is shown by the increased number of denunciations and warnings of hostile and malevolent activity supplied by the masses. There are districts where 30-40 percent of the crimes are detected by the people. This is in addition to warnings from them about other crimes.

There are many other encouraging indicators, but there is no room for complacency. To further strengthen these organs' links with the people, it is necessary to instill into the minds of their workers the idea that they cannot achieve success in their work without the active support

of the people, while in their practical work they should appreciate more the people's denunciations, obtain as much information from the masses as possible, give prompt replies to matters that working people raise, work harder to involve the masses in all their activity in maintaining order and the people's peace, better acquaint themselves with the situation in their areas and districts, and work harder to solve the people's worries and other problems that arise.

Strengthening preventive work also implies increasing the investigative abilities and striking power of the specialized organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The faster the perpetrator of a crime is detected, the less damage is done, and fewer people are implicated. Practice also shows that failure to detect a crime promptly also allows hostile or malevolent elements to continue their activity, and to encourage other people. Relying on this vital fact, the Ninth AWP Congress imposed on the justice and internal affairs organs the duty to "act swiftly and intelligently to detect and prevent hostile and malevolent activity" (Ramiz Alia, "Report to the Ninth AWP Congress," p 90).

In acting on this directive, the justice and internal affairs organs have increased the vigor and speed of their work. The internal affairs organs, working with new methods, have deepened their knowledge of the situation in the field. With close ties of cooperation with the people, they have responded better, more quickly, and more strongly to hostile and malevolent activity. The investigator's office too, on the basis of more determined and scientific work, has increased the number of crimes it has discovered.

However, there is still scope to increase the energy and speed of investigative work. Almost every year the perpetrators of some crimes remain undiscovered, or are discovered after committing further offenses. Every year a number of criminal cases are suspended, mainly concerning economic crimes. It is also inexcusable that investigative procedures should last 6 months, a year, or even longer. Delays often mean attempts at manipulation, while the culprits entrench their positions and the investigation becomes a mild affair.

More militant and scientific work is required of the justice and internal affairs organs at a time when it has been proved without doubt that internal enemies, incited by and in collaboration with external enemies, are attempting to strike at us from all sides—trying to encourage, sow, and foster liberalism in our political sphere, and to promote immorality and degeneracy among our people, and primarily among the mass of young people and cadres, by encouraging theft and abuse and damage to property, and attempting sabotage when the occasion arises, in order to weaken our economic base and socialist order. The relationship between hostile and malevolent activity, and the efforts of internal and external enemies to spread criminal activities, make the revolutionization of the work of these organs even

more necessary, and require the use of the most professional and scientific methods and equipment to increase the speed and effectiveness of investigative work.

The party has taken a range of steps to strengthen and improve the work of the justice and internal affairs organs. They have been granted many new cadres, and the equipment of contemporary science, which has brought about positive changes. Yet the desired effectiveness in their use has still not been achieved. This is because of shortcomings that have been noticed in following up problems in some cases, and in various operational activities. Liberal and bureaucratic attitudes, and delays and lack of proper coordination between the justice organs and the internal affairs organs, are not rare. Some cadres also make little effort to improve their professional abilities. The AWP Central Committee Politburo, at its meeting in March last year, strongly stressed the need to improve the working methods of these organs, demanding that their methods should provide more professional management, more dynamic activity, greater initiative and persistence, stronger discipline and control, and more effective staying power. However, to achieve this the party base organizations should concentrate their attention on more work in legal, professional, and military training, on the more skillful and effective use of all available equipment, and especially on more care to strengthen ties with the people.

The question of the legal, professional, and military education of the cadres of these organs, together with their political and ideological education, is the central issue in revolutionizing the work of these sectors. Without this comprehensive cadre training, the justice and internal affairs organs will not be able to respond properly to specific situations in the class war, nor to the highly camouflaged ways in which the enemy wages his struggle against the party and our people.

The party has created a powerful material base, in technology, schools, literature, and study and scientific institutes, to raise the legal, professional, and military abilities of the working people in the justice and internal affairs organs. Now this has been enriched by experience in the organization and management of work in cadre training. Regular seminars, and the organization of legal and professional discussions on particular topics that arise in practice, involving more cadres in postgraduate studies, scientific study projects, and so forth, are effective working methods. However, there is still scope to combat the sense of complacency that exists among some cadre with the level of ability they already possess. The party has stressed more than once that the homeland, and our vigorous development, demand that each and everyone should master his profession in depth, and be entirely competent in his field of activity. Otherwise obstacles arise and concern is aroused.

The justice and internal affairs organs are increasingly equipped with contemporary technology. Training and a high degree of professionalism are required to use this with maximum effectiveness. Some cadres in Tirana, Diber, Durres, and Sarande use technical criminological equipment with great skill, and have achieved major successes in the swift detection of hostile and criminal activity.

The struggle against crime and other antisocialist attitudes and activities is a struggle waged, under the leadership of the party, by the broad working masses and by all the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "If the party and the state," Comrade Enver teaches us, "rise to their feet in full earnestness, and if every individual in our country fights for this cause, then the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the courts, and the prosecutors will find their work easier" (Enver Hoxha, "Always Vigilant," Vol 2 p 553). This is because in our society it is the people who do the work of construction, maintain vigilance, and defend the fruits of their labor; it is the people who appreciate preventive work done to nip negative phenomena in the bud, and to bar every path that provides an opening for hostile and malevolent elements.

Economic Decline Prompts Western 'Primitivism'
AU082256 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian
3 Feb 88 p 3-4

[Artan Fuga article: "Primitivism—Dream or Reality?"]

[Excerpt] Our century has witnessed many qualitative developments and major historical and progressive turning points. It has blazed new trails with socialist revolutions, nuclear energy, space exploration, cybernetics, information technology, automation, and robots. Perhaps it seems strange and impossible, but it remains a fact that these innovative developments have been accompanied by calls to go back, not merely years and decades, but whole centuries and millenia, to the beginnings of mankind, to early, primitive, neolithic man, to the life of primitive communities in caves. This call is broadcast today by a whole range of spokesmen in bourgeois philosophy and art, and in essence is repeated by each of them, although in different ways.

The signs of primitivism in modernist culture are so strong that one might speak of an entire current of thought. In philosophy, neo-Freudianism, structuralism and so forth attempt to argue that man will find himself if he returns to a primitive state. Carl Jung wrote that "We all wish to return to a golden age and a state of nature." There is a whole range of artists whose work imitates the techniques of ancient African art — their sculptures and pictures of birds and animals bring back the primitive. Picasso painted his "Girls of Avignon" with techniques similar to those used by the primitive Fang tribe. Leger painted the backdrop to the ballet "The Creation of the World" with masks from the Baule tribe. Braque paints birds and fish in the style of primitive African art. It is the same in music; the Charleston, rock, and so forth are based on the ancient ritual dances of the Negroes. In ethics, various moral doctrines have been put forward to justify the hippy movement. Ancient religious myths have been spread by literature. Michel Tournier takes such a well-known work as "Robinson Crusoe" and produces a new variation, in which Crusoe refuses to return to the civilized world on a passing ship. He turns down the captain's invitation, preferring to remain alone on the island, in a primitive state of life. Comrade Enver Hoxha identified the essence of these symptoms in bourgeois modernist art, and drew the conclusion that "their ideal is the primitive state of the caveman."

Why have such signs of primitivism reawakened in our own era?

As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the AWP Ninth Congress, "The whole bourgeois and revisionist economic system is at an impasse." The woes caused by the general crisis of imperialism burden the broad masses of the people, who yearn and fight to be liberated from them. Bourgeois ideology and propaganda seek to conceal and obscure the solution they are looking for. Representatives of bourgeois ideology, in their fight against Marxism-Leninism, do their utmost to show that the revolution, the destruction of the capitalist order to its foundations, and the construction of socialism, are not the way to salvation. Among other possible solutions they offer the abandonment of all civilized values, a return to the past, and primitivism. It is well-known that spreading such illusions does not in the least affect the domination of the exploiting classes, who are only scared by the struggle of the peoples and the workers' class for national and social liberation. [passage omitted]

National Front Thanks Husak for Past Work

AU051314 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Feb 88 p 3

["Resolution of the Central Committees of the National Front on the Change in the Function of the Chairman of the National Front Central Committee, Approved at the Joint Session of the Central Committees of the National Front of the CSSR, the CSR, and the SSR in Prague on 3 February 1988"]

[Text] The CSSR National Front Central Committee complied with the request of Comrade Gustav Husak, CSSR President and member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, and released him from his function as chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front. It elected Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to the function of chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee.

On that occasion the Central Committees of the National Fronts of the CSSR, the CSR, and the SSR, representatives of political parties, social, and special interest organizations again highly valued Comrade Gustav Husak's lifelong work and endeavor in the implementation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the principled realization of the CPCZ policy, the cause of the workers class and all working people, his loyalty to the firm friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, social progress, and peace in the world.

The Czechoslovak people and the entire National Front recall with recognition that Comrade Gustav Husak, one of the prominent organizers of the national liberation struggle of our nations, also stood at the cradle and the formation of the National Front, in the front ranks of those who waged with the bourgeoisie the victorious struggle for its people's democratic character, for its cleansing and renewal in the glorious days of February 1948, in the front ranks of those who strove for the comprehensive development of its activity.

A part of Comrade Gustav Husak's distinct personal contribution to the solution of the crisis in the party and society at the close of the sixties was his effort regarding the renewal of the National Front's socialist mission in society. At the statewide National Front conference in 1971, Comrade Gustav Husak was, with full justification, elected chairman of its Central Committee.

The entire National Front, political parties, and social and special-interest organizations express to Comrade Husak sincere and warm thanks for everything he did for the National Front, for his significant share in shaping it as a nationwide base of the political system of socialist society. They wish him good health, personal happiness, and many further success in the work for the well-being of the people, the well-being of our fatherland—the CSSR.

The political parties, social and special-interest organizations see in the election of the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Milos Jakes, as chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front the expression of high appreciation of the National Front's role and mission. Comrade Milos Jakes is known as a prominent functionary of our Communist Party, true patriot and internationalist. They are certain that the National Front will fulfill with honor the demanding tasks connected with the acceleration of the country's economic and social progress, will give a good account of itself in the process of social restructuring and deepening socialist democracy, that it will imprint on the coming years the brand of the people's creative participation in building, managing, and administering our socialist society.

The Central Committee of the CSSR National Front

The Central Committee of the CSR National Front

The Central Committee of the SSR National Front.

Pitra on Agricultural Restructuring Tasks

AU092109 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
5 Feb 88 pp 1,4

[Interview with Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ Presidium candidate member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Zdenek Hoffmann: "Agricultural-Food Complex Faces New Tasks"—place and date of interview not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Hoffmann] What results does the agriculture and food sector have in entering the preparatory period for restructuring the economic mechanism?

[Pitra] The fundamental task entrusted to the agricultural-food complex by the 17th CPCZ Congress—to ensure and improve the people's nutrition and, at the same time, raise the level of self-sufficiency and of the effectiveness of production—is being successfully fulfilled on the whole. In the first 2 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, agricultural enterprises achieved the planned growth in gross agricultural production. They fulfilled and exceeded all crucial indicators of market animal production, as well as the indicators of the financial plan. They are also successfully coping with tasks in the sphere of external economic relations. A certain shift is apparent regarding increasing thriftiness and greater efficiency in food production. There is no doubt that the existing system of planning and management of agriculture has also contributed to these results.

[Hoffmann] If the results are positive, why is it necessary to restructure the economic mechanism in agriculture?

[Pitra] We will be able to speak of overall positive results—not only in agriculture, but in the entire national economy—only when we comprehensively fulfill the tasks of the state plan. And, in that respect, we are

not even successful in agriculture. Here, too, there are grave deviations from the plan's intentions. In the past 2 years, the gap has again widened between the pace of the growth in crop production and that of animal production. Crop production lags considerably. Despite the good results achieved in grain growing, the tasks in the production of sugar beet, potatoes, fruit, vegetables, and hops were not fulfilled. The reduction in agricultural production's demand for materials and energy is not proceeding at the desirable pace. [passage omitted]

[Hoffmann] It is obvious that, despite the relatively good preparedness, restructuring in the agricultural-food complex will not be an easy process. Therefore, what do you see as the most topical tasks of agricultural enterprises in the preparatory period of this year?

[Pitra] The greatest mistake would definitely be to wait with "arms folded" until the entire package of measures on restructuring the economic mechanism in agriculture is published. We expect that it will be published by around the middle of the year. Good preparation for restructuring means, above all, the consistent fulfillment of the tasks of this year's plan. It is necessary to improve intra-enterprise management everywhere, to analyze the costs for individual products and operations, and seek ways to produce things more cheaply. It is necessary to ponder the best direction in which to orient the entrepreneurial activity to increase, above all, agricultural production and its effectiveness, so that cooperatives and state farms would not only fulfill their obligations toward the state, but also ensure the needs of expanded reproduction and the corresponding growth in their members' and workers' [pracovnici] standard of living.

Work on comprehensive analyses of management is under way in agricultural enterprises. These analyses, too, have to be approached by keeping in mind that it is necessary to show all collectives and individuals, in a way that they can understand, where they are "losing the most money" and what has to be changed. Everywhere there must be courage to point out the personal responsibility of specific ranking personnel, collectives, and individuals for losses and waste which, as a consequence, make the collective and society poorer. It is necessary everywhere to mobilize resources that increase the intensity and thriftiness of production, above all by tightening up the technological and work discipline, by correctly channeling initiative, and by extensively applying the potential of scientific-technical development.

In many places, restructuring the economic mechanism is being narrowed down only to the expected new definition of relations between enterprise and the state, when the road to greater effectiveness and intensity of the production process lies, above all, in the new attitude of a work collective or individual toward the enterprise, toward the fulfillment of the nationally desirable production tasks. Therefore it is necessary to implement measures which will increase the feeling of collectives' and

individuals' responsibility for achieved results. In practice this means nothing other than the consistent implementation of intra-enterprise economic accountability and more efficient methods of material incentives. Eliminating the leveling in remuneration means overcoming one of the most tenacious barriers "standing in the way" of restructuring. [passage omitted]

Demands Made for Audit of Slusovice Combine

AU091267 [Editorial Report] HALO SOBOTA No 5 in Czech of 6 February, the weekend supplement of Prague RUDE PRAVO, carries on page 2 a 1,500-word "JL"-signed article entitled: "Views—Agreement as Well as Disagreement; What Is Involved Is Not 'Slusovice' Alone." The article reviews readers' letters received in connection with the interview with Pavel Cmolik, chairman of the CPCZ's All-Enterprise Committee of the Agrokombinat Slusovice united agricultural cooperative, published on 24 December 1987.

The author states that the "overwhelming majority of readers see in the agrocombine's activity components and methods of operation and management that have general validity, while some readers expressed reservations for various reasons, although they did not have negative opinions."

The author states that there were letters "repeating the suspicion that the Slusovice group receives 'patronage,' that its main interest is to 'speculate and to concentrate on nothing other than making a profit and sideline production,' and so forth." Another reader wrote that the proverb "a cobbler should stay with his last" should apply to Slusovice, too, that the cooperative should "devote its proverbial plan to its main task, that is, to agricultural production."

Despite the fact that the Slusovice cooperative has been achieving top results in animal as well as agricultural production, there has been more than one demand that "pertinent bodies carry out an in-depth audit of Slusovice," the author states, adding that there already have been several checks that "found nothing illegal or nothing that would be at variance with regulations and the principles of cooperative democracy."

Other letters expressed approval. Engineer Milos Hovorka from Orlova wrote that the Slusovice cooperative "successfully addresses itself to agricultural as well as sideline production, and as long as the diversity of its activity does no harm to its agricultural production, why prevent the cooperative from doing this?"

"Regarding the agrocombine's cadre policy, Jana Pokorna from Dolni Loucka wrote that 'Slusovice' welcomes precisely those who want to and can put all their knowledge into practice by using flexibility in all activities; it can serve as an example for very laggard enterprises, and not just in agriculture," the author states, adding that "several readers write that if they were not so

old, they would really like to work in Slusovice," because "it is an enterprise where words are not at odds with deeds. Discipline there is not just a slogan, it is a fact."

"It is typical that many readers assess the activity of the CPCZ's All-Enterprise Committee as we presented it in the interview, that is, mainly by the agrocombine's economic and social results, by the observance of the principle of fair remuneration for work done, and by the standard of concern for the people," the author states. Later on in the article, he mentions that some readers regarded the interviewers' questions to Pavel Cmolik as "aggressive" or "hostile" to Slusovice, but says that the interviewers were "only fulfilling the role of an intermediary between critically-minded readers and the chairman of the CPCZ's All-Enterprise Committee."

Engineer Sv. Mackerle, Candidate of Sciences, from the Institute of Biotechnology attached to the the Slovak College of Technology of Bratislava, wrote that the Slusovice cooperative "could be regarded as a large research center that is successfully resolving the introduction of advanced mass-production technologies into agriculture, and all these projects are funded from the cooperative's resources, without subsidies from central

sources. Of course, in this system of the assimilation of new technologies and techniques, there is no place for academically nonproductive research practiced by many research organizations...."

In another part of the article the author states that several readers drew attention to the fact that it is precisely competition that could favorably counter "a monopolist perception of the market, adding that it would be a pity if the production, scientific, technical, and human potential, which the agrocombine has at its disposal, were not fully used, in the sphere of sideline production too."

"And Miloslav Herman from Telnice," the author writes, "obviously hit the nail on the head when he wrote: 'Slusovice seems to us to be unnatural only because at many of our work sites there is a completely different spirit, different relations, different forms of work, and a number of negative phenomena which we have almost stopped perceiving after all those years.... Only when reading about Slusovice do we fully realize these negative phenomena of ours....' This does not mean, however, that everything is ideal at the Agrokombinat Slusovice united agricultural cooperative," the author concludes.

Honecker Attends FDJ Central Council Meeting

Receives Letter From FDJ

AU011542 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 30-31 Jan 88 p 1

[Letter from Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, dated 29 January 1988, from Berlin: "Class-Conscious Fighters for Social Progress; Letter From the Central Council to the SED General Secretary"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Erich Honecker:

For the worthy preparation of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the Eighth FDJ Central Council meeting has issued "FDJ Call—GDR 40." On behalf of the members and candidates of the Central Council, I present this call to you with the promise that the FDJ will use all its powers to strengthen our socialist worker-peasant state.

The GDR is our socialist home country. Therefore, our love, our devotion, and our actions belong to it.

The decisions of the 11th SED Congress show the way toward further successfully shaping the developed socialist society in our home country, in fraternal union with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. We regard the further strengthening of socialism and its reliable defense against every enemy as our best contribution to implementing the peace policy.

On behalf of youth, we want to thank the SED Central Committee, its Politburo, and especially you, dear Comrade Erich Honecker, for the policy aimed at the welfare of the people and the securing of peace and for its consistent and creative implementation.

We are tackling our "FDJ Call—GDR 40" with good results in fulfilling the decisions of the 11th SED Congress so far. They show how our country's youth helps to continue the socialist revolution on German soil, to develop its achievements, and to protect them.

We want to fulfill even better our most important task to train class-conscious fighters for social progress, who act in accordance with Marxism-Leninism.

In the preparation of its 40th anniversary, our GDR will be able to rely as before on the FDJ, the SED's helper and militant reserve.

Friendship,

Eberhard Aurich

Berlin, 29 January 1988.

Addresses Leaders

LD081736 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1522 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Excerpt] Berlin, 8 Feb (ADN)—A trusting, friendly meeting was held in Berlin Monday between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, the members of the FDJ Central Council, and the FDJ first district secretaries. It was attended by other members and candidate members of the SED Politburo.

Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, reported on the youth's challenging plans and the great response to the "FDJ Pledge—GDR 40," which was adopted by the eighth session of the Central Council. In an address received with hearty applause, Erich Honecker wished them, on behalf of the SED Central Committee, every success in the drive in honor of the socialist fatherland, the GDR.

Girls and boys from all over the GDR and the capital gathered at the Central Committee Congress Hall building in Marx-Engels-Platz.

Participants at the meeting included members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Hermann Axen, Hans-Joachim Boehme, Horst Dohlus, Werner Eberlein, Werner Felfe, Jurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Siegfried Lorenz, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Muckenberger, Guenter Schabowski, Horst Sindermann, Inge Lange, Gerhard Mueller, Margarete Mueller, and Werner Walde. [passage omitted]

Text of Honecker Address

LD090940 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1230 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Berlin, 8 Feb (ADN)—Here follows the text of Erich Honecker's speech concerning the FDJ report on the results of the "FDJ Pledge to the 11th SED Party Congress" and the plans for the "FDJ Pledge—GDR 40":

Today is extraordinarily significant for the development of the great initiative by our youth in preparing for the GDR's 40th anniversary. We are pleased that the FDJ has started it. The 40 years of the GDR represent 4 decades of construction work in a Republic which for the first time in German history can claim to be a state of youth from its very inception.

I recall well the first steps that had to be taken to build a new life on the ruins of the "Third Reich." At that time I was fortunate to have come neither from the "fighting Eastern front" nor from the "Western front" in order to be shocked by the pile of ruins into which Germany had

been transformed by the Nazi and war criminals over a period of 12 years, including 6 years of war. With many other comrades I came from the home front.

We did not bow our heads to the brown bandits but worked with thousands of German boys and girls for Hitler's downfall, as the film "The White Rose" so movingly shows. We had to experience how Berlin and other German cities sank into debris and ashes under a hail of bombs as a response to the fascist war of plunder. In spite of all this we remained firm.

Neither in the Gestapo den in the Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse, the cells of the "Adolf Hitler bodyguard" in Berlin-Lichterfelde, nor in the "Ascension Command" for the removal of bomb and incendiary damage caused by days and nights of air raids could shake our conviction that our support for Hitler's downfall was part of the struggle by upright German patriots and antifascists for a new Germany in a new Europe free of the Nazi plague.

For this reason, dear comrades, dear friends, we cleared the ruins and repaired roofs of houses as far as possible in May 1945, shortly after the liberation by the Red Army, not far from here, on the Alexanderplatz, in the former Landsberger Strasse and in the Frankfurter Allee, along with many other Berlin boys and girls on behalf of the KPD and SPD as well as the local authority which had just been set up. New life blossomed from the ruins. We did not let hopelessness assert itself. Those who were in the "Hitler Youth" and in the "Federation of German Girls" and who had been misused by the Nazi regime for its reactionary goals again took courage and increasingly found their way to true ideals and were drawn into our common work. We had to look after ourselves and we acted as the great German poet Bertolt Brecht expressed in his song, "Away With the Ruins and Build Something New." And we did build something new.

That was how it was. Everyone of you, everyone in the FDJ, the GDR youth, understands that our path from then until now has not always been easy, but it has been successful, although there are now two Germanys. One can twist things as much as one wants; however, the formation of the Federal Republic took place in May 1949 on the orders of the allies, and the founding of the GDR took place as a result of the People's Congress Movement on 7 October 1949. The French author Francois Mauriac drew the well-known conclusion from that development: "I love Germany so much that I am glad there are two of them." Whatever his feelings, we are in any case glad that the new Germany, the socialist Germany, the GDR, exists in today's world. This is a state hitherto unknown in German history, a state in which the exploitation by man was abolished forever, in which equal opportunities exist providing for education and social mobility for everyone's children, which is characterized by full employment and not unemployment, and in which accommodation as a social problem will be solved by 1990—that is a good 2 years to mention but a few things which characterize the GDR.

The development of the GDR into a modern and efficient industrial and agricultural state is among the most remarkable chapters in European postwar history. Our country, which at the end of World War II was destroyed and literally devastated, whose factories were dismantled, whose double-track railway lines were reduced to single tracks, and which was the sole German state to pay reparations, rose like a phoenix from the ashes, thanks to the diligence of its citizens and the aid and solidarity of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, and joined the ranks of the 10 strongest industrialized countries. And we can tell the traveler between two worlds who comes to us and is astonished at what he sees and experiences, the whole truth of what the GDR is today was created by the people and for the people. We can be proud of this. With our work of building socialism, completed in 40 years, we have laid a good and unshakable foundation for a still better future.

Let us just look at developments since 1970, a period in which we carried out great restructuring and reforms. The facts speak convincingly. National income rose from M121.6 billion in 1970 to more than M261 billion in 1987, and the production of industrial goods increased from M248 billion to more than M546 billion. Whereas in 1970 the net income of the population was M79.4 billion, in 1987 it was M156.3 billion. The per capita income of the population in real terms rose from M486 to M1,072 and the average monthly gross income of a worker or clerk in the VEB's rose from M762 to M1,236. The average monthly old-age pension, including voluntary extra pension contributions, rose from M199 in 1970 to M480 in 1987.

Over 2,840,540 dwellings have been either newly built or modernized since 1971. Over 50,870 classrooms for general polytechnical secondary schools, more than 405,150 places in kindergartens, more than 204,230 places in creches, and more than 2,320 school sports halls have been completed. That much has been achieved, and more will follow in 1988. You can see from the law on the state budget approved by the People's Chamber what we used for social purposes, including the stable prices of goods for basic needs. All this points to the future and our starting points on which the "FDJ Pledge—GDR 40" are based as well as the contribution of youth to the further fulfillment of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, about which our friend and Comrade Eberhard Aurich spoke so impressively. Our party thanks you, dear friends, and all members of the FDJ as well as of the "Ernst Thaelmann" pioneers organization for their achievements in the strengthening of our workers' and peasants' state.

We state with satisfaction that the youth in a developed socialist society see prospects for their lives and, conscious of their responsibility, help to shape them with their knowledge and capabilities.

By the "FDJ Pledge—GDR 40" the statement made in the call to youth by the 11th Party Congress that the young generation be prepared to continue the work of

the Activists of the First Hour at the side of their fathers and mothers with great civic responsibility and worthiness is confirmed. We are firmly convinced that the "Whitsun Meeting of the FDJ" and the traditional "FDJ torchlit procession" on the eve of our Republic's 40th anniversary will once more testify to the love and loyalty of the young generation for its socialist fatherland.

"Jubilees are not empty days of remembrance for us communists and the class conscious part of the proletariat," as Ernst Thaelmann said, "but guidelines for class struggle and action." For us the preparation of the GDR's 40th anniversary is a reassertion of Thaelmann's recognition.

The preparation must take place against a background of a comprehensive raising of the level of political and ideological work. In this it is a matter of propagating the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and their creative application in the GDR, the strengthening of the further cooperation between parties and mass organizations in the Democratic bloc and in the National Front, the strengthening of the socialist state and the broad development of socialist democracy, the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the cooperative farmers, the socialist intelligentsia and all working people, and the strengthening of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity.

The "FDJ Pledge—GDR 40" raises the call for new deeds for socialism and peace in the spirit of Thaelmann. This is the revolutionary answer of youth to the great challenges facing us. The fulfillment of the plan for 1988 is of the greatest importance for our current 5-year plan. The knowledge and commitment of youth play a significant role in solving tasks. Yes, mastering science and technology for the good of our people is today a decisive area where the young generation can prove itself.

Your pledge comes at just the right time because all areas count on initiatives for a further increase in performance. It is the alpha and omega that we can jointly only afford in socialism what we create together for socialism.

We are purposefully continuing to shape our developed socialist society. Every step forward is always accompanied by the creative search for better solutions and by constant learning. Our party's course is based on this experience. Many advantages and values of socialism were achieved as a result of the policy of the Eighth SED Congress. The spirit of socialism was made still more clearly visible with the main task and its unity of economic and social policy. In this manner we have passed and continue to pass the tests of history.

Each succeeding generation will be more clearly conscious of what our people have achieved by their hard efforts as we more closely and energetically familiarize them with the multifaceted birth and growth of our Republic. Members' meetings and circles during FDJ academic years which are real to life are as much a part

of this as are conversations with veterans of the struggle and of labor as witnesses of the time, of meetings at the signposts of history, and our work of construction.

Awakening and deepening understanding for our social goals and tasks among young people always remains a topical task. We want to help them to connect political events of the day with the basic truths of our Marxist-Leninist ideology and the experiences of history. We thereby deepen knowledge of the fact of socialism created in our country and thereby promote the will to personal best performances for the benefit of all and to personal advantage. Thus we will contribute to an increasing number of young people who orient themselves toward the ideals of communists in their attitude to life.

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism belong inseparably together for every true revolutionary. We welcome the FDJ wanting to forge the militant community of the Democratic Youth and Student Movement for Peace, Friendship and Anti-Imperialist Solidarity even closer in the close militant community of the youth organizations of the other fraternal socialist countries in preparation for the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in the DPRK. This closely corresponds to the ideas of our country's youth, which today knows that daily good work at every place of work makes one's own existence more secure because it strengthens socialism.

We have been deeply impressed by the outstanding results of the FDJ's economic initiatives. Whichever achievements one takes, whether the results of the "FDJ Berlin Initiative" or housing construction in the areas, whether the struggle of the youth brigades and young researchers' groups in mastering the scientific and technical revolution or the sum total in billions of the FDJ "material economy" action, whether the development of FDJ sponsorship cooperatives or the contribution by young people in beautifying towns and villages, young peoples' will and capability to perform manifests itself everywhere.

You are thereby continuing that great tradition of the FDJ which was founded by the militant slogan of the young activists "Youth at the Head of all Competitions". When the best youth brigades of our country meet in April this year in Zeitz, the town of the First Congress of Young Activists' new initiatives in socialist competition for strengthening our country's performance, it will certainly be discussed in this spirit.

In the further fulfillment of the resolutions of the 11th party congress, we are placing even greater emphasis on the high quality work of youth brigades and all young working people for the further fulfillment of our economic strategy, as well as on high performances by the FDJ's young researchers' groups and the multifarious rationalization solutions in the movement for the broad application of key technologies, a large contribution by all FDJ groups in the citizens initiative "Help Make Our

Cities and Communities More Beautiful", looking after and maintaining nature and the environment, good results in learning and studying and the early application of knowledge gained, the further development of culture, sport, and tourism for interesting leisure time for young people, and, not least, your loyal fulfillment of duty in defending our socialist homeland under all conditions. By their reliable protection of the achievements of socialism and peace, young people are at the same time defending the foundation of their certain and good future.

I would like to strengthen you in reaching all young people by the stimulating and challenging FDJ work which is near to life, and in including them and not leaving anyone out. According to experience, strong FDJ groups, are the best precondition for this, and close cooperation with the FDGB, the GDR DTSB [association of sports and gymnastics], the GST [Society for Sport and Technology] state organs and other social forces. Our basic principle of trusting young people and giving them responsibility must be fulfilled anew every day. In this, the FDJ must constantly advance as the representative of the interests of all young people. The youth organization should make still more comprehensive use of its democratic rights and obligations in all areas.

Every generation growing up in society has its own ideas and experiences. It needs calculable tasks which relate to their good training and ability to perform. In solving these they come into close contact with the practical issues of life and can show what they really have in them. On the basis of revolutionary achievements we want to advance with you, the representatives of the young generation, further toward the lofty heights of communism. There is still a long way to go, and there are still many obstacles to be overcome. But with our progress we will change our world for the good in a revolutionary manner.

In this time which is full of struggle, it remains the political duty of every FDJ functionary to constantly seek dialogue with all young people on domestic and foreign policy and to answer the variety of questions which they will always have under our conditions—which are open to the world—convincingly, from a party viewpoint, and with assertiveness. Our efforts to form a community of responsibility with the most varied political forces, above all on what divides us in the fight against the nuclear danger, as is known, do not exclude the argument about opposing ideological positions. On the contrary, it often gains in intensity. Youth needs still deeper knowledge and convincing arguments on the basis of socialism's class position for this very debate.

You should continue to pay particular attention to the youngest members of the FDJ and the pioneers. Their activity in the ranks of the FDJ and their readiness to assume personal responsibility will develop in accordance with the way in which they get to know the socialist youth organization and to grow into it. We are looking forward to the eighth pioneers' meeting this August in Karl-Marx-Stadt. We are glad that its preparation has become a cause for the whole FDJ and that you invited us to it today.

Our traditional meetings in the Central Committee building are a symbol of the trusting relations between our party and young people. They are proof of the SED's great respect for your achievements, and at the same time an expression of the great expectations which we place on your knowledge and readiness to act.

Even now, a few days before the call to the "FDJ Pledge—GDR 40", groups have spoken on very important plans. New commitments by youth brigades and young researchers' groups on the development of microelectronics reached us from Erfurt. The young researchers' group "Increase in Exploitation" in the "Karl Marx" microelectronics VEB announced that it kept its promise during the summer of 1986 by which it was possible last year to produce 1.4 million more switching circuits. Thus, they can now set themselves the task for 1988 of creating 4 million switching circuits with 64 kilobyte memories, that is 1.5 million more than originally planned.

This example shows what is characteristic for the whole Republic. Young people made the broad application and economic use of key technologies into their own cause and thereby strengthened the GDR. By their committed work for our party's economic strategy, the FDJ makes a decisive contribution to a combination of science and production to great advantage for the people.

You can assume that all communists wholeheartedly support the "FDJ Pledge—GDR 40". The leadership of our party will be at your side everywhere. The young comrades in your ranks should help to mobilize others at work, in learning, and studying, and in defending the country by their example. We are also certain that managers and supervisors, parents, teachers and educators, artists, journalists, and all friends of young people will once more prove themselves to be committed allies of our socialist youth organization.

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, I wish you and all of us the greatest success in the "FDJ Pledge—GDR 40" in honor of our socialist fatherland, the GDR.

Ceausescu Quoted on Bilateral Relations
AU090910 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Feb 88 p 3

[MTI report: "Ceausescu on Romanian-Hungarian Relations"]

[Text] In a speech given on 5 February and published by SCINTEIA on 6 February, RCP Secretary General and President Nicolae Ceausescu also spoke about Hungarian-Romanian relations.

In his speech at the conclusion of the 2-day meeting of the National Council of Working People, after discussing the current tasks facing the people's economy, Ceausescu spoke about various international issues. He stressed that Romania welcomed the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles and regarded it as an important step, albeit only a first step that must be followed by other steps. Ceausescu took a stand in favor of reducing conventional arms and withdrawing foreign troop stationed in foreign countries.

Ceausescu then stressed that Romania continued to strive to develop its relations with all the countries in the world.

He declared that Romania's relations with the socialist countries are generally good, and added that this, unfortunately, cannot be said about Romanian-Hungarian relations. Romania, he said, is striving to strengthen the friendship and good-neighborly relations with Hungary. Every state must understand—he pointed out—that Romanian problems are solved by the party, the government, the democratic organizations, and the entire Romanian people.

Kopeczi Comments on Human Rights at Conference
AU091933 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Feb 88 p 3

[MTI report: "Debate Opens at the Conference on Human Rights in Venice—Bela Kopeczi's Address"]

[Excerpt] The substantial debate at the Conference on Issues of Human Rights and Religious Freedom opened in Venice opened on 4 February. Representatives of governments, social scientists, church officials, and several ambassadors, who are heads of their countries' delegations in Vienna are participating in the talks at the invitation of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Carlo Bernini, president of the Italian Veneto region, said on behalf of the conference organizers that they did not intend to organize a parallel conference; they simply want to contribute to the success of the European consultations and to a better assertion of human rights in Europe and everywhere.

In his speech delivered at the free and informal consultation held on 4 February, Academician Bela Kopeczi, Hungarian minister of education and culture, outlined the Marxist ideas concerning human rights in a historical perspective. He pointed out that the struggles of the workers movement played the main role in spreading human rights.

Kopeczi said that in the recent decades, several international legal acts—among them the Helsinki Final Act—granted universal validity to human rights by adopting a wide interpretation of these rights, that is, by treating the democratic rights to freedom together with economic, social, and cultural rights. The assertion of these rights, however, is achieved in a historical process and there is no uniform opinion and practice concerning their importance and priorities. [passage omitted]

Democratic Forum Initiative Viewed
AU092118 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Feb 88 p 3

[Y.S.-attributed article: "Open Doors"]

[Text] Something unusual took place at the Budapest Jurta Theater on 30 January: More than 400 people gathered at the invitation of the organizers of a conference entitled the "Hungarian Democratic Forum." They held an exchange of views on representative democracy, focusing special attention on the National Assembly. On the basis of the debate, they formulated a declaration which they made available to the MAGYAR HIRLAP editorial offices. We do not think that it would be justified to publish their declaration because it does not contain new elements.

That is, when reading the declaration one can immediately see that the great majority of the issues discussed at the gathering has been present on the agenda of our public forums for a long time. Therefore, it obviously follows that the people who formulated this initiative are in fact pushing on an open door because—in the spirit of renewal and as a result of the necessity for social changes that follows from the policy of reform—the competent party and state organs accept most of it. As was stated in the declaration, nobody can doubt that "without the institutional conditions and guarantees of democracy there is no social development or national resurgence."

The experiences of the comprehensive debate, which was begun in 1985 at the initiative of the MSZMP Central Committee in order to work out the methods of further developing the system of political institutions, are now being analyzed; this demonstrates that official and unofficial intentions and endeavors coincide.

In the interest of democratically reforming the socialist political system, the participants of the gathering suggest that the National Assembly should establish a new law on the right to vote. Well, modifying the law on the right to vote has been on the agenda for a long time; since the

recent elections. A working committee established for this purpose has been working for 1 and 1/2 years. This committee, by adjusting to the present requirements and on the basis of social demand, is developing the plans for a new law that will further broaden democracy.

In the declaration there is an initiative calling on a National Assembly elected on the basis of the modern law on the right of the vote to develop a new constitution. We agree that the time is ripe for this. It is so ripe that one can read in the theses submitted by the MSZMP for debate: "Starting from the premises of the requirements for our social and economic development and of reforming our system of political institutions, the party thinks it necessary to reexamine the Constitution and work out a new fundamental law!"

A further demand made by the gathering was that the National Assembly should clarify the relations between the state and the party from the aspect of constitutional law. In this respect it would be worth mentioning that the requirement by the party to exercise self-constraint, and the requirement to eliminate parallelism have already been formulated in several forums. In a lecture delivered at the November 1987 session of the MSZMP Central Committee (Our Renewing Ideology in a Changing World, Kossuth Publishing House, 1987) it was clearly stated that the party cannot function in place of the people and a coordinated division of labor based on the relationship between equals should be instituted in society. This does not mean that the party should surrender its leading role. It will continue to insist on determining the ideological and political guidelines for strategic issues.

Modernizing National Assembly activities is urged not only by the Democratic Forum declaration, but also by our entire society. In this respect it would cause no harm to mention—and this was published by the newspapers on 29 January 1988—that an ad hoc committee had been established in the National Assembly precisely in order to do the work required for the preparation of this renewal. The theses already mentioned above also state that "The National Assembly should have the exclusive right of legislation in that sphere of social relations which is defined by the Constitution and the law." The subject, however, is also on the agenda of the PPF constitutional law committee and of the Program Office for Research in the Political Sciences, an office which was established within the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and which analyzes issues concerning state life and the Constitution. Research related to the Constitution has been going on for about 3 years, and 18-20 papers known in expert circles have been published on this subject. So, there are quite enough forums.

In conclusion, I would like to make two remarks. One: However deep the sense of responsibility for the fate of the nation, which permeated the conference, the forum is hardly competent to request the establishment of a preparatory committee to establish the principles and

activities of the National Assembly. To put it mildly, the time of the agoras, the policy-making marketplaces of the Greek towns, is over. Neither in Hungary, nor anywhere in the world do contemporary political practices make it possible to establish, by means of a resolution that exceeds a mere exchange of opinions, a supervisory committee which is outside the legal and elected system of institutions in order to reexamine the activities of the elected organs of the people's representation. This is not merely misinterpreting the role of the forum; this could also interfere precisely with constructive dialogues and debates of public interest.

Two: There was a letter which accompanied the declaration; according to it, the position taken by the gathering must be published in the domestic press. The wording of this letter sounds extremely bad, as if it suggested an ultimatum. If we interpret the text and the intention of the declaration correctly, however, it is dialogues rather than ultimatums that are beneficial for the search for the roads leading to progress.

SZOT Presidium Holds Meeting; Views Issues
AU100923 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
6 Feb 88 pp 1,7

[Report signed D.L.: "Certain Banks Should Change Their Views—A Proposal Is Being Prepared for the Government To Ease Tensions—Internal Trade Union Information Must Be Renewed—Presidium Holds Meeting"]

[Text] At its meeting on 5 February, the National Trade Union Council [SZOT] Presidium evaluated the experiences of the beginning of the year and paid particular attention to the development of consumer prices—including the price increases of baby and children's articles—and to the strong reaction by the population. The Presidium authorized the SZOT secretariat to evaluate the proposals it intends to introduce for the government bodies to eliminate the tensions. The Secretariat should carry out this task before the coming SZOT session by evaluating appropriate analyses and available data, and by holding the necessary consultations.

The topic of the initial experiences of the new year as well as proposals on the trade union tasks related to the people's economy plan for 1988 and the related agitation and propaganda work will be submitted to the next SZOT plenum.

The Presidium confirmed its previous position that considers the planned 15 percent increase in consumer prices in 1988 to be the upper limit. Therefore, the SZOT opposes any further proposals for central price increases. The trade unions demand that the state and economic organizations do their utmost—by improving the efficiency of management and supervision—to ensure that the burdens on the population from the price increases do not exceed the level stipulated by the

people's economy. If consumer prices were to exceed the planned level, the trade unions would demand the appropriate measures to offset this.

Within the framework of its activity concerning prices in 1988, the SZOT considers one of its most important tasks to be to organize representative scrutiny of prices and to supervise pricing activity and the use of correct prices, so as to be able to discover negative phenomena in time. The SZOT will keep his members and the appropriate state bodies informed about this activity. The trade unions consider the need for a consistent supply of high quality goods to be an important political issue. A level of supplies similar to that in the first half of 1986 must be assured as soon as possible. The trade unions increasingly demand that the supplies of so-called inexpensive goods be maintained and even increased and that the quality of these supplies be improved.

The SZOT Presidium stressed that the issues of employment policy, wage policy, personal income tax, social policy, social assistance, price policy, management of workers' affairs, and legal assistance will be in the center of the trade unions' activities in 1988.

The SZOT Presidium supports the agreement between the heads of financial bodies and the heads of the responsible banks to find more comprehensive solutions for credit repayment problems—solutions that will reduce disturbances in the economy. At the same time, the SZOT considers it necessary to mention the fact that, independent of the general solvency problems experienced in recent months, enterprises and institutions in many cases received credits from commercial banks to cover wages only through the intervention of the responsible trade unions or of the SZOT.

The SZOT Presidium believes there is need for a change in the views and practice of some banks in this area. The workers should not doubt for a moment that they will receive their wages on time. The SZOT Presidium feels it is necessary for the financial organs to provide clear-cut guarantees in this respect.

The SZOT Presidium then discussed a proposal on further developing the training of trade union officials. The speakers at the debate unanimously stressed the need for greater professional training and skill on the part of officials active at all levels in the trade union movement so they can fulfill their tasks in connection with economic and social development. Only modern and high-level instruction that meets the requirements can ensure that such knowledge and skills are acquired. The SZOT Presidium also adopted the proposal that contains the new forms of instruction and submitted them for the attention of the responsible trade unions sections, county trade union councils, and the Budapest Council of Trade Unions so as to prepare for the coming 1988-89 on the basis of these proposals.

The SZOT Presidium then discussed a report on developing the internal information activity of the trade union movement. The Presidium considered it extremely important for the movement's relations with the masses and its strengthening of confidence to ensure that the exercise of power is clear-cut, that members are well aware of the leaders' intentions, and that members know that the leadership is taking collective and individual interests into account. Central and local publicity play a great role in this.

The primary goal of the trade union movement's activity in the area of internal information is to make the members aware of the multifaceted activity carried out in determining conditions at work places and in the country and to allow the members to give their opinion about the activities of the leading bodies, genuinely participants in determining policy, and contribute to the formulation of trade union standpoints.

Internal information should convey decisions made by trade union bodies, and should explain trade union efforts and positions, as well as provide answers to members questions by the SZOT through the trade union stewards. This internal information should lead to thinking and activities that represent the interests of the movement.

The SZOT Presidium stressed that resolute and clear-cut information involves members and officials in the decisionmaking process and enables them to attentively follow the development of differences of views, and to be active participants in formulating the aforementioned decisions. Information is an important means for a steady exchange of views between members and leaders.

The SZOT Presidium considers it necessary that information cover timely political, economic, and ideological issues of the trade union movement; reflect the trade union movement's multifaceted and independent activity; and realistically present the social and economic processes and changes of our age, as well as the related trade union efforts and positions. It is the task of internal information to keep members abreast of trade union activities that promote and protect their interests, of the nature of cooperation with state and economic bodies, and of different standpoints.

It is important for this activity to pay greater attention to providing information about the background of decisions, and about the reasons behind the inevitable compromises, and to providing concise explanations everyone can understand. In addition, internal information activity should stress the local, sectoral, and central efforts with which the movement can assist in attaining goals, and this activity should be receptive to issues and proposals that concern members and officials.

The SZOT Presidium calls attention to the fact that, in determining the specific content of internal information, it is necessary to take into consideration the differentiated demands of members and officials by ensuring that everyone receives the knowledge he requires for his trade union activity.

The SZOT Presidium stressed that informing the workers is the joint political task of all trade union leading bodies, of trade union officials, and of the professional mechanism that is responsible for concrete tasks related to information. The SZOT Presidium stressed that the information provided to the officials should be fundamentally increased. In selecting subject matter, in creating its particular system of arguments, and in presenting the independent position of the trade unions, this activity of informing should provide more than the mass information supplied to the population. The information provided to the leaders at various levels of the trade union movement create a basis for initiative. The system of information should ensure that officials are adequately aware on a timely basis of central, sectoral, and district activities and of the formulation of decisions and their expected consequences—knowledge they can use in their own information activity.

It is of basic importance for the trade union stewards to receive more timely knowledge, background information, and material for debates and for their daily activities involving communicating, creating conviction, and mobilizing workers.

The SZOT Presidium stressed the need for—in addition to quickly conveying information received from higher levels—the basic trade union committees to consistently inform the working collectives and individuals about the decisions and concepts directly affecting them, about debates with partner organizations, and about how to deal with concrete problems and proposals.

To achieve renewed content, the means and methods used in information must be made more diversified.

The debate on the proposal to further develop the trade union information activity was the final item on the agenda of the SZOT meeting. The organization regards it important to modernize this activity in a way that it will strengthen the members' decisive role, assist in the activity of the trade union movement based on the masses, and contribute to the possibilities of using the general public experiences and methods that can be applied elsewhere.

Briefs

Delegation Visits CSSR

A party workers delegation headed by Csaba Tabajdi, deputy chairman of the International Relations Department of the MSZMP Central Committee, visited the CSSR at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee from 2-4 February. The delegation held talks with leading officials of the International Affairs Department of the CPCZ Central Committee on timely international issues and cooperation between the MSZMP and the CZCP. The representatives of the two parties coordinated the 1988-90 work plan for cooperation between the MSZP and the CZCP. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Feb p 7 AU]

New Official Nominated

Due to his retirement, Colonel Ferenc Kacso, secretary of the Budapest leadership of the National Defense Association, was relieved of his post, with acknowledgement of his merits, at a session of the Budapest heads of the National Defense Association held on 4 February, which was attended by Major General Gyorgy Keri, first secretary of the National Defense Association. Janos Pal, political staff member of the Budapest MSZMP Committee, was nominated as secretary of the Budapest leadership. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Feb p 6 AU]

PAP Notes Gorbachev Statement on Afghanistan
LD091739 Warsaw PAP in English
1642 GMT 9 Feb 88

["Gorbachev's Announcement: Statement of Good Will—(PAP commentary)"]—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Feb.—This announcement was immediately reported on by international news agencies. No wonder—Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev spoke on the issue of Afghanistan, the issue of one of the most difficult and most painful regional conflicts, as he put it. The announcement mentioned concrete dates for which everybody was waiting.

The readiness to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the desire, shared with the Afghan Government, to peacefully and politically settle the Afghan question are expressions of new political thinking, new perception of present-day world. For several years now this has been one of the main determinants of the foreign policy of the USSR and its activeness in the international arena. It is just this new thinking that brought about the historic Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of two classes of nuclear missiles. Owing to this thinking, the prospect of peace in Afghanistan and of normalization in the whole region is becoming ever more real.

The world has the right to expect that Afghanistan will start the momentous, and possibly fast, process of liquidating conflicts in other parts of the globe. The Soviet Union has proved that it is ready to cooperate in this task.

Orzechowski Assesses INF Treaty Ratification
LD091957 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] [Presenter] Minister Marian Orzechowski gave an interview to both Polish and Soviet television. Here is part of it:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Minister, how do you assess the ratification process of the treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States in Washington and in Moscow?

[Orzechowski] I think that—without going into detail and expressing also our wishes and aspirations—I could say that I am convinced that common sense and realism will win, that the logic contained in the Washington agreement will win; the logic based on the fact that the agreement has created realistic chances for further, even more significant steps for disarmament. [end recording]

Solidarity Leader Fraysiniuk Arrested
AU091347 Paris AFP in English
1241 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 9 (AFP)—The leader of the banned Solidarity trade union in the Wroclaw region of southwest Poland, Wladislaw Fraysiniuk, was arrested Tuesday at his home, his wife said in a telephone conversation with AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Mr. Fraysiniuk had ignored a written summons from the Wroclaw court Monday, because it made no mention of why he was wanted, she added.

Released Same Day
AU100836 Paris AFP in English
0248 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] WARSAW, Feb 10 (AFP) - The leader of the banned Solidarity trade union in the Wroclaw region of southwest Poland, Wladislaw Fraysiniuk, was released here Tuesday after a 45 minute interrogation by police, his wife said. Mr. Fraysiniuk had been arrested earlier in the day at his home after having ignored a summons from the Wroclaw court Monday because it made no mention of why he was wanted, she added in a telephone interview.

The questioning was a warning for him to abandon trade union activity, she said.

Other Solidarity leaders have had the same "warning conversations" with police since price hikes were introduced in Poland last month.

Rooftop Demonstration Held in Bydgoszcz
LD091734 Bydgoszcz Domestic Service in Polish
1500 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] We have been informed in detail by the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs in Bydgoszcz that at 1430 [day not specified] a group of 11 men appeared on the roofs of the Jedynak and Smyk department stores, located at the crossroads of Dworcowa Street and Aleja Pierwszego Maja. They were displaying previously prepared posters and were scattering leaflets. After about half an hour those involved in the demonstration began to march in the direction of the PZPR City Committee building, attempting to form an illegal parade. Officers of the Security Service and the Civic Militia along the route of the parade checked documents and arrested 13 people. It turned out that they were activists of the "Freedom and Peace" [Wolnosc i Pokoj] movement from all over the country, including Krakow, Wroclaw, Gdansk, Warszawa, and Gorzow Wielkopolski. The men were students, two of whom were from Bydgoszcz colleges.

In connection with the illegal demonstration, motions will be submitted to the Court of Misdemeanour attached to the office of the President of the City of Bydgoszcz concerning the breach of the peace and public order.

Let me remind you that the "Freedom and Peace" movement is trying to gain the right to refuse military service. Yesterday's [as heard] demonstration was held under such slogans.

Western Report on Krakow Demonstration Denied
LD091540 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0600 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] In its evening broadcast, Radio Free Europe announced that on Sunday, in Krakow, there took place—we quote—a demonstration against the latest price increases. The demonstration, in which around 1,000 persons took part, occurred after Holy Mass. Some of the demonstrators climbed up onto a tram they had stopped, and they decorated it with banners. End quote.

We have checked. This information is a common lie.

Western Report on Strike Action Denied
LD091547 Warsaw PAP in English
1105 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 9—Certain Western correspondents, continually attempting to track down any signs of anti-government demonstrations, "strike alerts" and "strikes" in Poland, are indiscriminate in how they go about this. For "roving reporters" with such an attitude, each source of information is good. And so, the American UPI agency in a dispatch dated Feb. 7 handed its teleprinter over to Jacek Kuron. On Monday Radio Free Europe Broadcast "information" derived from this source to the effect that, among other things, "on Wednesday, (Feb. 3—eds.) production in the Lenin Metallurgical Combine stopped completely for 20 minutes."

Asked to comment on this "piece of information" broadcast by UPI, the production manager of the Lenin steelworks Janusz Razowski, MSC., said that on February 3, 1988, the metallurgical combine had worked for a whole 24 hours. "The whole day passed without any troubles, both in production and as regards supplies to the combine of gas, electricity, raw and intermediate materials. Furthermore, the weather was favourable, there was no snow or below-freezing temperatures. Neither were there on that day any unexpected breakdowns which could have caused any obstacles whatsoever in the realization of production targets," Razowski said.

Jaruzelski Addresses Military PZPR Meeting
AU081455 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish
4 Feb 88 p 2

[Report by Lieutenant-Colonel Janusz Borkowski: "At the Center of Soldierly Life"]

[Text] Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, attended the 3 February accountability meeting of the primary party organization of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko First Warsaw Mechanized Division at the division's headquarters. He discussed the

most important aspects of the international situation and the resultant conclusions for the PPR's defense. He underlined the importance of steadily performing the tasks of the second stage of the economic reform and of modern, bold thinking in solving the complex socioeconomic problems in the country. He indicated the party organization's role in implementing the best solutions and promoting experience which is in keeping with the Kosciuszko mechanized division's traditions. He acclaimed the soldiers' participation in the life of the country. He thanked members of the division for their conscientious training effort and work for the national economy. He wished them further achievements in their service.

Jaruzelski Attends Party Organization Session
LD072155 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0700 GMT 7 Feb 88

[From the "Military Radio Magazine" program]

[Text] The report-back stage in basic party organizations is continuing. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of our Party's Central Committee, chairman of the Council of State and chief of our Armed Forces participated in the meeting of the (?staff) of the 1st Warsaw Mechanized Tadeusz Kosciuszko Division. Wojciech Jaruzelski is a member of this organization.

Politburo Issues Communiqué at 2 Feb Session
AU082247 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
4 Feb 88 pp 1, 2

[PAP Report: "PZPR Central Committee Politburo Session Communiqué"]

[Text] On 2 February the PZPR Central Committee Politburo assessed the socioeconomic situation and accorded particular attention to concrete undertakings connected with the implementation of the second stage of the reform.

Although the recent prices and incomes decisions that were implemented create difficulties for and impose a burden on society, they were, nevertheless, necessary. They are an integral part of the cohesive and comprehensive economic solutions contained in the second stage of the economic reform; these decisions have to be examined in the context of the changes to the principles according to which the economy operates, changes that are designed to promote economic initiative and enterprise. They will create conditions for improving efficiency in the production and supply of consumer goods and are meant to provide a more effective means of encouraging enterprises to make economic decisions that are efficiency-oriented.

The Politburo shares the government's position that price rises are not the sole or even basic element in recovering market-income equilibrium. On the contrary, an enterprise's entire effort—enterprises are being

equipped with more efficient mechanisms, including objective prices—should be directed toward increasing the supply of goods and services. This is the main path that will lead to the rapid solution of our basic economic problems.

The reorganization of prices and incomes should not overshadow the fact that, at the same time, many changes are being instituted in the economic system in line with the provisions and time frame contained in the program for the implementation of the second stage of the reform. These changes will gradually create new conditions that will encourage enterprises to expand and become more efficient, and this greater efficiency will also result in higher wages, increased output, the rational use of labor, and the economic use of raw materials.

The Politburo expressed respect for the attitude displayed by work forces and society as a whole; society has manifested civic maturity and an understanding of the need for these difficult decisions concerning prices.

The Politburo stressed that the mechanisms contained in the reform are geared toward the attainment of a primary goal—better conditions for working people. Only effective economic mechanisms and objective criteria for assessing economic performance can strengthen the economy and, in the long run, produce a tangible improvement in the quality of life.

Success in achieving these economic objectives depends on whether an appropriate balance can be struck between long-term socioeconomic objectives and current social needs and expectations. This was confirmed by the outcome of the referendum, the talks that the government has held with trade unions, and the extensive public debate that has taken place. Action must be based on a rational compromise between, on the one hand, the interests of enterprises and working people and, on the other hand, the needs of society and the economy. This point of view has inclined the party leadership to conduct a far-reaching analysis of proposals for so-called social protection. The Politburo stated that compensation payments should not diminish the incentive function of wages. The long, and even difficult talks, that the government held with the trade unions were intended to produce a joint decision about the scale of direct compensation payments in relation to wage increases that would be both socially acceptable and, at the same time, would not impede economic development. Additional wages should be primarily obtained by way of increased labor productivity, the modernization of labor organization, job certification, and economic use of raw materials and energy.

The Politburo emphasized that it expects the government to step up the demands that it makes on the administrative and economic bodies that exert a direct influence on living conditions and to improve the way in which they operate more rapidly. The Politburo obligated party echelons to exact an appropriate attitude of party responsibility from cadres that perform duties in

institutions that serve the public, in both public and cooperative services. The party leadership hopes that allied parties will undertake similar action with respect to their members.

Plans for a comprehensive control system will shortly be examined and approved. They are designed to reduce the number of inspections, to prevent the duplication of work, and to stop various inspection groups from examining the same problems. The attention of these groups will be focused on substantive matters, especially issues such as efficient management, effectiveness, and law observance.

The Politburo appreciates the level of public concern about the standard of living and has, therefore, recommended that more stringent controls of contractual prices be conducted. This calls for increased activity on the part of specialized government agencies and a feeling of responsibility and conscientious concern for reduced production costs on the part of enterprise managements, employee self-management bodies, and plant social and vocational organizations. Lower production costs ought to be seen as the main way in which unwarranted price increases for goods that come under the contractual price system can be prevented.

The Politburo assessed favorably the ways in which the price and incomes alterations had been publicized. The experts appearing in radio and television programs had helped to explain the doubts and fears of citizens. This work has to be continued energetically. Neither can there be any shortage of programs and publications that exhaustively discuss the essence and consequences of the second stage of the economic reform. The information stands that serve the needs of enterprise managements and citizens also play a major role here.

The press, radio, and television should give publicity to the most efficient enterprises, research establishments, villages, cities, and regions. At the same time, information should be given about those plants that have failed to carry out frank job certification, that waste materials and human work, and produce low-quality goods that carry a high price. Details of the subsidies received by these enterprises should be published, so that the citizen may know where, how, and by whom public funds are being spent. There must be united, strong social pressure in favor of thrift and against waste.

There is still not enough interest and consistency in introducing the system of work brigades, which could raise productivity and incomes in many cases. An excess of manpower, especially administrative personnel, in individual plants is not always noticed, and yet a rationalization of employment would result in greater funds with which to increase wages. Enterprise managements, workers' self-management bodies, trade unions, and party organizations should carry out this rationalization.

Drunkenness is causing huge economic losses. Last year 60,000 people were caught drinking at work, trying to enter their workplace after consuming liquor, or trying to bring it in with them. There are still numerous cases of driving in a drunken state.

The scale of these phenomena requires a much firmer reaction and sharper sanctions. It is impermissible for trade unions, workers' self-management bodies, and party organizations to come out in defense of drunks. There must also be a firmer reaction toward the granting and use of sick leave which is not justified by one's state of health, because absenteeism affects the vital interests of workers' collectives and makes planned production difficult and often impossible, thus preventing the earning of suitable wages.

The effective work of factory managements in the difficult and responsible second stage of the economic reform will be treated as a test of their abilities and suitability to occupy their positions.

The Politburo acquainted itself with a government report on the comprehensive savings program in the production and budgetary spheres. This operation, the idea of the Council of Ministers' Committee for the Observance of the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline, has already led to the withdrawal of about 3,500 official cars, 120 buses, and 6,000 telephones, saving some Z6 billion.

It was underlined that the party is also economizing inside its own organizational structures. Some 800 full time jobs have been cut following personnel reviews and job certification. The number of cars and drivers in voivodship committees has fallen by 13 percent.

Party cells have handed over 400 telephones to public institutions and private citizens.

An additional savings program for this year has also been worked out, one which draws on very complex organizational and financial reserves. Some refurbishing and investments tasks have been postponed until later years. Spending has been reduced; it will be less than last year.

Party cells at all levels and party members in enterprises, institutions, and trade unions were placed under an obligation to see to it that the tasks of reforming the economy are performed with efficiency, commitment, and consistency.

Ideology Official Interviewed on Tasks

AU090951 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
5 Feb 88 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Czyz, head of the PZPR Central Committee Ideology Department, by Piotr Rzdca: "Ideology Does Not Censor Changes, It Promotes Them"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Rzdca] What are the main issues of ideological work and what is the role of your department in solving them?

[Czyz] Three lines of our ideological work determine the tasks of our department.

The first line is inspiring theoretical reflections and an in-depth interpretation of the issues of development and stimulating scientific research, especially research that analyzes the new phenomena that must be taken into account by the party's reform policy. We want to classify our experience, to creatively interpret many notions, and to utilize the results of scientific research in such a way as to stimulate courageous and novel political activities. This means extensive cooperation with the centers of the social sciences, especially with the Academy of Social Sciences. We have set up five permanent teams of outstanding political theoreticians and activists, whose efforts continue to be devoted to analyzing the key problems of the country's development and to formulating recommendations for political practice.

In the next few months these teams will deal primarily with preparations for the Third All-Poland Theoretical-Ideological Party Conference. I think that the subject of the conference—"Basic Theoretical Issues of Socialist Renewal"—shows that the conference will deal with general issues of the contemporary stage of the development of socialism and the function of Marxism, with the driving forces of and the barriers to socialist renewal in Poland, and with party tasks in the following areas:

—Accelerating the qualitative changes in the economy that tie effectiveness to justice;

—Developing the Polish model of socialist democracy and creating conditions for its effective functioning;

—Fostering social awareness and analyzing its impact on the course of the reform of the state and the economy;

—Strengthening Poland's increasing role in the world of cooperation and confrontation [w swiecie wspolpracy i konfrontacji].

[Rzdca] We will certainly report on the preparations for this conference and on discussions connected with it. These discussions are already in progress. Various demands have been addressed to the party on the subject of ideology and theoretical-ideological activities. What are your views in this connection?

[Czyz] It is true that members' expectations differ from case to case, because they have different ideas about the function of ideology in party life. I think that, if we do not want to condemn ideology and ideological work to playing a utopian role, they must not be used to construe some detailed models of the future and models of conduct in order to "ideologically legitimize" practice. Some ideological canons developed in strictly defined conditions of history still continue to be regarded as a collection of axioms, principles, and action directives that are absolutely unchangeable and totally independent of the impact of time, the real pattern of social

forces, and social aspirations. These canons would restrict changes in the policy of socialist renewal and would even tame reformatory activities.

I think that theoretical thought [mysl teoretyczna] and the ideology based on it must be neither censors of nor models for political doctrine and practice. They must be an active factor in this practice in such a way that the Marxist and class analysis of reality is able to tell us in which direction this reality should be developed by revaluating the views that life has not confirmed. In other words, theoretical thought [mysl teoretyczna] and the ideology based on it should enable us to analyze the laws governing the development of the socialist formation, to draw political conclusions from this analysis, and pave the road to changes for which social conditions are ripe. We have paid a steep fine for neglect in this regard. [passage omitted]

It is true that today we are still unable to answer many questions connected with the future constitutional forms of socialism. We still do not know which of them will be able to contribute in the most effective way toward realizing the interests of the public. However, we possess theoretical statements, principles, and goals of action which reflect the objective laws of social development in line with working people's long-term interests and which express the essence of socialism. They were presented by the PZPR Program and were recalled and expanded by the Politburo report to the sixth Central Committee plenum.

These theses, goals, and principles are certainly not ossified. Every period of history makes it necessary to define them in confrontation with reality and to enrich and develop them. This is an especially important task for theoretical research.

[Rzadca] Are the Marxist social sciences able to do this?

[Czyz] Although I think that these sciences have great, genuine achievements, there is still much for them to do in order to create a theoretical base for actively developing political doctrine and paving the road to all necessary social changes. [passage omitted]

[Rzadca] The road between ideas and their assimilation by each party member is long.

[Czyz] Internal party activities, the crux of which is to strengthen the party's ideological identity and cohesiveness, are the second line of our tasks. Only a complete awareness of goals and of the ways to achieve them, as well as the distinct ideological and political personality of each party member and party echelon make it possible to conduct an open policy based on broad alliances, on the development of the mechanisms that express and reconcile different social interests, and on the consistent observance of the criteria of the working people's interests. This is because only the party that believes in its views and is convinced that they can be realized is able to successfully implement its political and economic reforms. [passage omitted]

The third important line of our activities is the party's influence on public awareness and winning people for our program in an active dialogue. In this we follow the principle that public awareness develops under the impact of various elements, especially living standards. [passage omitted]

In an open and honest dialogue with the people we want to discuss what is to be done to ensure that the restrictions that are now necessary are not in vain, but help us to create premises for changes for the better. [passage omitted]

We have reached a time in which the speed and extent of the necessary changes in the economy and the state are being determined. The program of these changes was developed by the Sixth Plenum and obtained decisive support from the active segment of our people.

However, the dualism of the referendum results and public moods may weaken the determination of the pro-reform forces, "justify" the feeble performance of the people who are not convinced that changes are really necessary, stimulate bureaucratic resistance and playing for safety, and act as encouragement for the opponents of the socialist nature of changes. It is our duty to strengthen the front of the pro-reform forces, to display resolve and consequence in realizing the reform, and to do all we can to ensure that the achievements of the sixth plenum are not eroded and lost in the vortex of various doubts, hesitation, and fears and that the renewal potential of these achievements is not weakened.

National Council of Working People Plenum

Bobu Upbraids Economic Units
AU091649 Bucharest SCINTEIA in
Romanian 5 Feb 88 p 2

["Report on the Activity of Working People's Councils in Enterprises, Industrial Centers, and Ministries, and on Measures To Increase Their Role in Ensuring Worker's Self-Management and Economic-Financial Self-Administration—Abridged Text" presented by Emil Bobu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, to the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People, held on 4 February in Bucharest]

[Text] The plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People is taking place in an atmosphere of profound patriotic commitment, an atmosphere generated by the Party National Conference, a high and representative forum of the Romanian Communists, who adopted the magnificent report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, as a program for the work and struggle of the party and of our whole nation, and who also adopted other documents of outstanding importance to ensure the unflinching implementation of the historical objectives of the 13th RCP Congress.

In an atmosphere full of ardent patriotic feelings and creative enthusiasm, our whole party and people prepare for and celebrated Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's birthday with new and great results, and paid homage to his more than 55 years of heroic and constant revolutionary and patriotic activity.

The manifestations occasioned by this great national holiday—dear to all the sons of the homeland—expressed the feeling of great gratitude and boundless love that all the Communists and all the working people nurture for the party secretary general and the president of the country, who, from his early youth, courageously and heroically devoted himself to the revolutionary struggle for the independence and sovereignty of the homeland, for the well-being and the happiness of the people, and to build in Romania the most just and noble system—the socialist and communist system. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is known in the whole world as one of the most prominent personalities of the international communist and workers movement and as a hero of peace.

Together with the greatest homage the working people's collectives pay to the beloved and respected leader of our party and state on this great celebration, they also express their unanimous and solemn pledges to unswervingly follow his theses, ideas, and guidelines, which are of unequalled theoretical and practical value, and to do all they can to exemplarily fulfill the programs for the homeland's socioeconomic development and to completely fulfill the plan for this year and for the whole 5-year plan period.

After the historical Ninth RCP Congress, with the decisive contribution by the party secretary general, we created the system of the workers' revolutionary democracy, which is the only one of this kind and which ensures the direct participation of all categories of working people and of the whole nation in consciously building their own future.

Therefore, the general meetings of the working people were institutionalized as supreme forums of collective management and we set up the working people's councils in enterprises and industrial centers—representative democratic bodies of the workers' self-management, with deliberative powers—councils which were given by law important functions in drafting, discussing, and endorsing production plans, income and expenditure budgets, in strengthening order and discipline in work, in ensuring the optimal management of the public wealth, in strengthening socialist property, and in improving the working and living conditions of the personnel.

Today, 4,041 councils of working people operate in enterprises, factories, and sections, with over 79,700 members, of which 50 percent are workers, foremen, and technicians. The 119 councils of working people in industrial centers and in other similar units include more than 5,100 members, of which 33 percent represent workers, foremen, and technicians. The management councils of the ministries and of the other central bodies of the state administration include 2,300 members, of which 25 percent are workers, foremen, and technicians. Councils of working people with functions conferred upon them by law, operate in virtually all economic units.

Life has fully demonstrated the correctness and viability of such measures, which have brought about the blending of the unitary management of the whole socioeconomic activity with an increase in the functions and responsibilities of the local bodies and of the economic units, and with the better application of the creative initiatives of the people's masses.

Further, the report stresses that, as a result of the contribution made by the workers' democratic bodies, guided and led by the party, important overall results were obtained in all fields of activity in 1987. These results are the most telling proof that, when the councils of working people in enterprises, central departments, and ministries thoroughly understand their role and mission and carry out with great responsibility their duty to fulfill the plan provisions, draft the income and expenditure budgets, organize labor, and modernize production processes, ensuring a continuous raising of the technical and qualitative level of production, and perfecting the professional training of all the workers, then important results are obtained in fulfilling the plans and programs for the socioeconomic development of the homeland, and for continuously raising the material and cultural level of the working people.

However, examining in an exacting manner the way in which we worked to fulfill all plan indicators in 1987, Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized strongly and firmly that, if all economic units, all working people's councils and management cadres, and all party, mass, and public bodies and organizations had taken more responsible steps to fulfill their tasks, the overall results would have been much better.

After referring to certain types of plan nonfulfillment last year, the report points out that certain collective management bodies from enterprises, industrial central departments, and ministries are still not entirely fulfilling their role and duties and are not mobilizing all working people in the exemplary implementation of plan provisions and in the application of party-state laws and decisions, and of the party secretary general's recommendations and orientations which are of a priceless theoretical and practical value.

Due to a lack of responsibility in the fulfillment of their duties on the part of the working people's councils, there are still serious violations of order and discipline in a number of enterprises from the mining and electric power industries, and the existing machines and equipment are not utilized to the planned parameters. This has led to serious difficulties in the normal development of work in other sectors and in ensuring the electric power generation, particularly coal-based energy production.

Shortcomings continue to exist in the activity of working people's councils from the metallurgical industry, where an insufficient spirit of exactingness is shown toward observing manufacturing technologies, achieving the prescribed extraction coefficients, and observing established consumption norms, particularly for coke and ferro-alloys, something which has led to large excesses at enterprises in Galati, Hunedoara, and Calarasi.

Some working people's councils from enterprises and industrial central departments in the machine building branch are paying insufficient attention to the appropriate functioning of the horizontal [orizontala] industry and to the exact implementation of special programs, particularly in the field of naval equipment and installations for the nuclear, power, oil, and mining industries. Likewise, there are shortcomings in this branch with regard to raising the technical and qualitative level of production, modernizing technological processes, and raising the efficiency and competitive level of the manufactured products.

In the chemical and petrochemical industries, certain working people's councils are not taking consistent steps to strictly observe commissioning programs, to use installations under secure conditions, and to properly maintain and repair these installations, in order to prevent any accidents and secure their operation at the planned parameters.

As Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu often said, the examinations carried out reveal that there are still many working people's councils in ministries, industrial central departments, and enterprises which do not adopt the most efficient measures to fully and commendably achieve their export tasks—which is a basic prerequisite for ensuring the smooth development of the economic activity and reducing our foreign debt.

In this respect, certain working people's councils show insufficient concern with rapidly adapting the production to foreign market requirements, starting the manufacture of all contracted items on schedule, turning out quality products within the deadlines envisaged by contract, and ensuring spare parts and services for machines and equipment earmarked for export, something which is required of us if we are to achieve increased efficiency in the entire foreign trade activity. Only thus can we explain the fact that, although certain units fulfill and exceed the industrial commodity plan, the proportion of export tasks fulfilled is only 60 to 70 percent.

Everybody knows that one of the main obligations of the working people's councils is to apply exactly apply and observe the party decisions, the country's laws, and the established norms and regulations for the operation of various sectors of activity. Trying to hide their poor work, some leading cadres from the working people's councils have committed infringements and violations of legal provisions and resorted to disinformation—serious deeds which had a negative impact on achieving production targets and, in the last instance, on securing the working people's incomes.

Various checks have shown that some people violated the legal provisions on implementing the overall contract system in certain mining and machine building units, and proceeded to level out the incomes of the working people at the expense of material incentives for the working people and of ensuring their pay in accordance with the work done.

Such deeds were noted in the activity of certain leading cadres from the Iasi Heavy Equipment Combine, the Bucharest Electrical Machinery Enterprise, and other units, which reported false data on the stage of the plan fulfillment, thus increasing the remuneration fund and paying undeserved premiums.

Serious violations were committed at the Brasov Truck Enterprise, where the chairman of the working people's council of the respective industrial central department, the first vice chairman of the working people's council of the enterprise, and other leading cadres from the respective units have violated legal provisions and arbitrarily decided—against the law—to level out the remuneration for the entire enterprise, instead of creating the necessary organizational and technical-material conditions to ensure that all working collectives and each individual worker can fulfill their production tasks and achieve their planned incomes.

Shortcomings exist in the activity of certain working people's councils as regards the better administration and utilization of all resources and assets of socialist units entrusted to the working people for the most careful administration, by law and on the basis of commitment-contracts.

In implementing these legal obligations, certain management councils from ministries and certain working people's councils from central departments and enterprises are not entirely fulfilling their duties and fail to adopt, in proper time, the necessary technical and organizational measures to fully utilize productive capacities, efficiently administer material and monetary means, further improve the organization of the productive process, increase labor productivity, efficiently use manpower, and strengthen order and discipline.

In keeping with the prerogatives granted to them by the law, the working people's general meetings examined the accountability activity carried out in 1987 and decided that 125 directors, chief engineers, and chief accountants should no longer be reinstated in their positions—due to violations and shortcomings in exercising their duties and to the inappropriate way in which they organized and led the entire activity—in order to create all necessary conditions for fulfilling plan tasks in an exemplary manner.

Checks carried out in a large number of counties show that certain cadres from the management councils of the Ministries of Metallurgical Industry, Heavy Equipment, Machine Building Industry, and Light Industry are not directly and responsibly involved in operatively resolving the problems faced by units in their sphere of activity.

At the same time, certain ministerial management councils continue to ask for a large number of reports and statistics from territorial units, organize various meetings with an exaggeratedly high number of points of the agenda, submit material of a general nature and various insufficiently substantiated measures for discussion, do not pay due attention to solving the many problems raised by the working people during general meetings, and fail to supervise the implementation of their own adopted measures.

All these shortcomings necessarily require a radical improvement in the working style and methods of the working people's councils from the units, industrial central departments, and ministries, in order to implement the tasks, recommendations, and guidelines of Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in an exemplary way, and to exactly fulfill the broad role and prerogatives conferred upon them by law.

As the party secretary general has often said, it is now necessary to pay all due attention to properly organizing the activity of our revolutionary workers democracy bodies, so that they can fulfill their important role in our socialist society.

Fully understanding the need to improve and perfect the entire activity of the bodies of our revolutionary workers democracy, so that they can fulfill the great duties entrusted to them in a spirit of high responsibility and exactingness, the Executive Bureau of the National Council of Working People will pay greater attention to improving the working style and methods of the working people's councils and further increasing the role and duties of general meetings.

The working people's councils will be encouraged to give priority to completely fulfilling the plan for the first quarter and the whole of 1988, as a key prerequisite for fulfilling the entire 5-year plan. As Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, new organizational and technical-economic steps will be taken to give priority to entirely fulfilling the export tasks and item-specified production—particularly for coal, crude oil, steel, technological equipment, and investments—and to strictly observing approved consumption norms and regulations.

The working people's councils in enterprises, industrial central departments, and economic ministries will give priority to operatively resolving all problems regarding the fulfillment of plan provisions for February, the first quarter, and the entire year.

As the party secretary general emphasized, by 20 February this year we must act to clarify all matters concerning the conclusion of priority contracts with foreign partners, as well as the conclusion of contracts for the entire commodity production for the domestic market and we will take steps to eliminate stockpiles of products earmarked for export.

In view of the particularly important role conferred, by law, on the industrial central departments—which, in their capacity as plan executors, are responsible for the smooth development of the entire economic activity in subordinate units—the Executive Bureau of the National Council of Working People will give priority to increasing the responsibility of working people's councils in firmly fulfilling their duties, in improving the style and methods of their work, and in raising their spirit of exactingness in their entire activity.

At the same time, we will lay greater emphasis on strengthening the individual and collective responsibility of the members of the bodies of our revolutionary workers democracy; we will broadly involve the working people in completely fulfilling plan tasks for this year and the entire 5-year plan, and the program for the fatherland's socioeconomic development and in increasing their contribution to the implementation of the decisions of the 13th Congress and of the National Conference of the Party, and to the continuous development and flourishing of our beloved fatherland, the SR of Romania.

Managers Reported Dismissed

LD091412 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
1300 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] In Romania, 125 enterprise managers, chief engineers and chief accountants have been dismissed from their posts because they ran their factories improperly. The decisions were made by workers' general assemblies at their workplaces after analyzing last year's work. This was stated by Emil Bobu, chairman of the National Council of Romanian Workers.

The conference, held a few days ago, has now been reported by the SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA newspapers. According to these reports, economic leaders forged production figures at some places, thus providing unjustified earnings for the workers. Emil Bobu also criticized the work of central organs for doing too much paperwork and not checking the implementation of decisions.

Ceausescu Gives Speech

AU081835 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
6 Feb 88 pp 1,2,3

["Speech by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu" at the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People on 5 February 1988 in Bucharest]

[Text] In a highly responsible spirit, the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People examined the socioeconomic development objectives in 1988, discussed the activity of the working people's councils, and established measures with a view to perfecting the activity of all bodies of the workers' revolutionary democracy.

During the plenary meeting, 37 comrades and within the councils and groups of each branch 152 comrades took the floor. Hence, altogether 189 comrades took the floor. One can state that, in this way, the proceedings of the National Council of Working People is actually a congress of the owners, producers, and basic cadres in all our economy, who represent this high democratic forum for the management of the socioeconomic activity. (loud applause and cheers; chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

As is well-known, the Party National Conference, the bodies of the workers' revolutionary democracy, and the session of the Grand National Assembly that took place at the end of last year, in a critical and self-critical way, widely examined the results of the first 2 years of the 1986-1990 5-year plan period and established measures to optimally fulfill the plan for 1988 and for the whole 5-year plan period. The discussions taking place during these days within the National Council of the Working People supplement, one could say, those democratic discussions and are a firm guarantee that the decisions, plans, and programs that had been adopted are fully in accordance with the capability of our people and of the workers, and with our material and human capacity to ensure the construction of socialism in Romania. (loud, prolonged applause)

In 1987 important results were obtained in the socioeconomic development of the country. As was noted in the communique published recently, industrial output increased by 4.5 percent and the agricultural output by 2.3 percent. Over 31 million tonnes of grain were obtained, thus 1987 was the second consecutive year when, compared to the previous year, we achieved the largest grain production in Romania.

National income increased by 4.8 percent. Important results were obtained in all sectors of activity. A somewhat larger volume of investment than in 1986 had been achieved. One can virtually state that everything we achieved during the last year, although it was not up to the plan provisions, nevertheless represent important achievements, considering all the problems we had to face, and on which I will dwell later.

Therefore, we can say that in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan period we have achieved important results in fulfilling the 5-year plan provisions and the 13th RCP Congress decisions that ensure the progress of our homeland to a new stage of development and raise the general level of civilization and well-being for our whole nation. (loud, prolonged applause)

All these achievements are telling proof of the correctness of our programs, of the plan, and of our party's capability to creatively apply the laws and general realities to the conditions and realities prevailing in Romania. All these things are the direct result of the heroic work of our workers class, of all working people—regardless of nationality—of the peasantry, intelligentsia, and of all our people. Therefore, at this plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People I would like to convey warm congratulations to all the builders of socialism in our homeland and best wishes for ever greater successes in all their activity devoted to the homeland and to building socialism! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the people!", "Ceausescu, Romania—Our Esteem and Pride!")

As I have already mentioned, if we had worked better in all fields of activity, with a higher sense of responsibility, of order, and discipline, we could have obtained much better results. It is well-known that we had serious lags in the first part of the last year. It is true that some of them were because of the harsh winter. But only some of them, because, if we talk with great responsibility, we must admit that it was not the harsh conditions led to those lags, but the lack of the necessary measures and the lack of responsibility and thorough organization of the activity, even under the most difficult conditions. I stress this because, while we discuss this year's plan, particularly the plan for the first quarter, we must compare it with a period in which activity was most unsatisfactory. We discussed this situation last year, but I mention it again because we must draw all the necessary conclusions from the mistakes and the shortfalls that were noticed in the organization and the flow of last year's activity, in order to avoid the repetition of such a situation and to ensure the unflinching monthly and daily fulfillment of all the plan indicators.

We must do all we can to make appropriate use of production capacities, of the creative power of the working people, and of our whole nation, with a view to ensuring the unswerving implementation of our programs and tasks for this year and for the whole 5-year plan period.

This year, it is 20 years since we carried out the territorial-administrative reorganization of the country, since we did away with districts and regions and simplified the territorial-administrative organization by setting up counties as the basic units in the management of territorial activity. Life has completely proved the correctness of these measures! Exactly on this basis we could ensure the more rational distribution of production forces over the whole territory of the country, the harmonious development of all counties in the country, we could create the best conditions for the socioeconomic development of the country, and could ensure complete equality of rights for all the citizens of our homeland! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the people!", "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!")

Let us have a look at the socioeconomic map of our homeland, and at the new towns, communes, and industrial sites! During your addresses you mentioned here that some counties developed ten-fold compared to the previous period, while some other counties registered an even higher rate of industrial development. You mentioned the construction of dwellings and the balanced development of the counties and of production per capita, which is an important factor in ensuring the harmonious development of all areas, in order to raise the material and cultural well-being of the nation. On this basis, education, science, and culture have developed strongly and an important percentage of the labor force has been employed in industry. Today, industry is virtually the decisive factor in our whole socioeconomic development.

At the same time, agriculture has also markedly developed. An important production increase has been registered in all agricultural branches—results that are well-known and that we will examine thoroughly at the plenary meeting of the National Council of Agriculture that will take place at the end of this month. Therefore, I do not want to dwell on these issues.

Considering all the results we achieved, we have every right to speak about the correctness of our party policy and of our people's great achievements in socialist construction. All these facts demonstrate the creative power of a people that eliminated exploitation and inequalities forever, became complete masters of their destinies, and are freely and consciously building their socialist and communist future! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the people!", "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!")

Esteemed comrades, the 1988 plan envisages an important increase of production in all sectors of the national economy. The provisions of this year's plan and programs are well-known, hence I do not want to dwell on them particularly.

As we established at the Party National Conference, in 1988 we must obtain the best production of the first 3 years of the 5-year plan period in all areas.

The comrades who took the floor during the discussions reaffirmed the determination of the collectives and counties they represent to do their utmost to achieve this objective.

Good results were obtained in the first month of this year—as has been reported—but a number of shortfalls were also registered. I want to repeat that when we talk about the good pace of development this year we must not forget that we are comparing this with the very small production obtained in January last year. Therefore, in order to talk about good results we should keep in mind the plan provisions! In order to achieve this year's provisions, we must maintain every month, up to December, the pace we had in January! This means that we must most resolutely organize our activity with a view to appropriately fulfilling the plan for February, March, for the first quarter, and for the whole year.

We should base all our activity on the fulfillment of the item-specified production in every sector and, primarily, the export production. I was informed that at the meetings of the councils of each branch, some central departments and enterprises tried to justify the nonfulfillment of export production, thus violating the plan provisions and the laws of the country. It must be well understood that achieving the export production should be the core of our activity and should be a priority task for all central departments, enterprises, and ministries!

We should completely put an end to the old practice—which is in total contradiction to the principles of self-management and self-administration—of trying to attain the value of commodity production by carrying out all kinds of transfers of production from one enterprise to another, from one section to another. We do not need such economic activity! This is not economic activity, this is anti-economic and antisocial activity! Therefore, I repeat, we must definitely start from the complete fulfillment of the item-specified production, in accordance with the variety and quality stipulated by plan and by contracts; only this activity can be considered the proper one to ensure the plan's fulfillment!

It is most necessary to take decisive measures in order to fulfill the production quota for raw materials of the country and the production of coal, oil, electric power, and other materials. Hence, I call on all working people in the field of mining and oil exploitation to do their

utmost and work with the greatest patriotic responsibility in order to optimally fulfill the coal, oil, and ore production, and thus ensure the important amount of raw material required by the national economy!

In the same way, I call on the working people in the energy sector to work with the greatest responsibility to ensure the proper operation of all the equipment and electric power stations, and thus ensure the necessary power, in accordance with the plan provisions!

Likewise, I call on all the working collectives in the fields of metallurgy, the iron and steel industry, chemistry, petrochemistry, machine building, light industry, construction materials, and in all other fields of activity to work with the greatest responsibility and do all they can to see to it that these sectors—just like all other branches of the national economy—should appropriately fulfill the provisions of this year's plan and programs! I am confident that all the managerial councils, the working people in these sectors, and the working people employed in our economy will work with all their power and will fulfill their duty toward the homeland and toward the cause of socialism in our homeland. (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

We should work with the utmost responsibility in all areas in order to reduce energy and material consumption and achieve the production target by strictly observing the established consumption norms and by finding new ways of further reducing consumption! Likewise, we should increase our activity to recover and reuse materials, spare parts, and subassemblies, because they represent a great part—in some sectors up to 50 percent—of the required raw and other materials.

This year we should fulfill the greater part of our program for production organization and modernization. Last year's lags were also the result of the nonfulfillment of these programs. We have discussed all these issues, but I would like to stress and draw the attention of all managerial cadres and of all the working people's councils in all fields of activity to the fact that they should work with the greatest responsibility to fulfill the provisions stipulated by the program and should do their utmost to further improve and perfect these provisions!

Decisive measures are required to ensure the better organization of labor and of production activity in all sectors in order to fulfill the modernization programs and ensure the scientific organization, supply, mechanization, and automation of some of the production processes, and thus ensure a more marked increase in labor productivity in all areas.

Particular attention should be paid to improving quality and raising the technological level of products, both those earmarked for export and those for domestic consumption. I believe that I do not have to further

insist on the importance of producing top-quality goods, with a high technological level, which can compete with the best products at world level.

The plan attaches particular importance to the issues of economic activity and of increasing efficiency and profitability in all areas. As a matter of fact, we cannot talk about self-management and self-administration without proceeding from the need for efficient activity, with maximum profitability in all areas!

This year we have to achieve a great volume of investments. We should put into operation important production capacities, put into operation the first nuclear energy complexes, and generally complete all the investment work and overhaul and repair work in all sectors of activity. Therefore, all working people must work with a greater sense of responsibility, order, and discipline in fulfilling the important tasks incumbent on them in this important sector of our economic activity!

As I have already mentioned, the programs and plan provisions for every sector of activity are well-known. Therefore I am not supplying any figures. Nevertheless, I insist that decisive measures are required in all sectors, in all the units, central departments, and central complexes, in order to unswervingly implement all the plan provisions and, I repeat, starting from the fulfillment of the item-specified production in all areas!

Particular attention should be paid to achieving the production earmarked for exports and the export itself, and to ensuring optimal cooperation and production-sharing activity!

You are familiar with the programs for cooperation within CEMA, with the socialist countries, and with developing countries, and the programs for developing economic relations with developed capitalist countries; therefore, I do not want to particularly insist on these things. Nevertheless, it is necessary to work most resolutely to ensure the implementation of these programs!

At this meeting, some comrades spoke about very big problems in exports. I would like to tell the National Council of Working People what represents the reality on the volume of Romanian exports. In the year we have concluded, exports represented about 17-18 percent of the volume of the whole of industrial production, and we have to add agricultural production to it. As a matter of fact, as far as industry is concerned, this does not represent more than 15-16 percent of the whole industrial output. Certainly, within the specialization in production there are enterprises that have a greater share of export production but, generally, the amount of our exports is very small within our overall economy. I have already mentioned these issues. Even the export share of CEMA member socialist states amounts to 30, 40, or even 50 percent of their overall production. The export share of many European capitalist countries exceeds 50 percent of their economic activity. Therefore, an export

proportion of 15 or 18 percent within the total national economy is completely unsatisfactory. Certainly, export is not a goal in itself; we do not export for the sake of exporting! We must import a great amount of raw and other materials. We import about 70 percent or even more of the required oil that is processed in our country. We import over 90 percent of iron ore and about 60 percent of coking coal. Likewise, we import all the required amount of cotton, 50 percent of cow hides, and the entire amount of nickel and molybdenum; we also import copper ores and various other ores. We do not speak of a small proportion of imports. As you can see, in some cases we import a hundred percent of the required amount. We have to pay for all these things. This is one of the basic problems in ensuring the optimal flow of the economic activity.

Here, at the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People, the basic cadres in the economy, the leaders of ministries, of central bodies, of central departments, and of enterprises are present, as well as workers and all those who are responsible for organizing and ensuring the optimal flow of the socioeconomic activity. It must be well understood that the export issue is not only an issue of exchanging economic goods, but an essential issue for ensuring proper activity and of fulfilling the economic development programs.

We cannot ensure development without cooperation with other countries, without export, and without import—this has to be thoroughly understood by all our cadres working in the economy, by all the working people, and by our whole nation! (loud, prolonged applause)

It is difficult for me to understand the manager of an enterprise who fulfilled 102 percent of the plan for January and 5 percent of the export plan, thus violating the law. How can such a person still be at the helm of an enterprise? We must discuss this issue within the working people's council, because this fact endangers the existence of the collective of that enterprise and the working conditions for all workers in the respective enterprise! I am telling you these things with the utmost seriousness, and I am stressing the fact that all our cadres and all the managerial councils should completely understand these things and discuss them with all the working people in their capacity as owners and producers, so that they can ensure an unswerving fulfillment of exports in accordance with the amount stipulated in the plan! Certainly, exports require good quality products and exactingness—things can no longer be solved by transferring production from one place to another and by trying to persuade domestic partners on the phone to receive the produce, even if it is not of the required quality level, as has been the case in several instances! The laws in this respect are very clear and we will take firm measures to work, in all enterprises, in accordance with the laws of the country and with the interests of developing the national economy and raising our nation's level of civilization!

As a matter of fact, that is the way in which those from the Brasov "Steagul Rosu" enterprise acted. They did not fulfill the production plan and violated the law on the remuneration system—being only interested in ensuring greater remuneration for themselves—and cut the pay of the working people in a certain section that had completely fulfilled the plan; thus, they violated the laws of the country. Certainly, this cannot justify the way in which some working people in the respective section acted, because anarchic actions are in no way accepted. We have democratic bodies, and we took appropriate actions within the general meeting that took measures and put order in that enterprise.

Hence, I most seriously draw attention to this fact and insist on the need to ensure the complete fulfillment—as of this month—of the export plan, which in terms of its overall amount does not exceed 18 percent of all industrial production. Let us do everything in order to fulfill the plan monthly and daily, primarily the export plan, with the required quality level and in accordance with everything that is stipulated in the contract! In the same way, we must also be critical with respect to our imports because we have received many machines and much equipment—for which we had paid—that was not up to the requirements and acceptable criteria, and did not meet the stipulations in the contracts.

Decisive measures are required so that foreign trade enterprises and all those who are in charge of these things appropriately fulfill the role incumbent on them, concerning both the export and the import tasks!

The financial-economic, self-administration, and self-financing programs should be applied more resolutely in the financial-economic field. In this respect some positive steps have been taken, but they are not sufficient. I must stress again that our financial bodies—starting from the Ministry of Finance, banks, county bodies, ministries, central departments, and enterprises—do not properly fulfill their role to ensure optimal socioeconomic activity and to implement the self-administration programs.

It must be thoroughly understood that, drafting the income and expenditure budget on schedule and with the greatest exactingness is an utmost requirement, this being the basic principle for self-administration, for self-financing, and for ensuring the efficiency and profitability of all socioeconomic activity. It is not enough to talk about self-administration, self-management, and self-financing while we continue to waste resources and, as some people still continue to do, spend money without having to account to anybody for it. The enterprise is not private property; it is the property of the whole nation and it is given to the whole collective for administration. Those who are designated to administer it bear the material responsibility and are responsible, from all points of view, for the way in which they fulfill their duty.

In this respect, as of this year, we should take decisive measures to ensure optimal financial-economic activity, to draft the income and expenditure budgets, and to

more markedly increase the responsibility and role of the financial bodies in ensuring the appropriate flow of the whole activity.

We have good plan provisions and we have good bodies to implement them! Now we must work most decisively in order to see to it that these bodies fulfill—and this year must fulfill—their responsibility toward the country and toward the people!

Esteemed comrades, the fulfillment of the plans and programs in all sectors of activity requires a more marked increase in the role of scientific research and of education in all areas. The new scientific-technological revolution and the new agrarian revolution are decisive factors to implement the socioeconomic development programs. One cannot conceive of building socialism and communism without basing the whole activity on the latest scientific and technological discoveries in all areas, and on human knowledge in general! We have reached a development stage in which science and technology are decisive factors for the general progress of mankind, the more so for the successful construction of socialism and communism! (loud, prolonged applause)

We must unswervingly implement the program of cadre training and perfecting education. In education, we should pay greater attention to the issues of managing and organizing socioeconomic activity and the enterprises. Engineers and experts in all fields, at universities—some even in high schools—should acquire a great amount of knowledge and learn how to organize a section, a sector, or an enterprise, in all its complexity. To all this we should add the economic issues, primarily the foreign trade issue, taking into consideration the fact that, in one way or another, at a certain moment in his activity each specialist is engaged in foreign trade activity and in financial problems. Here I am referring to all educational levels, including the sections in polytechnical institutes and, certainly, to the economic education institutes, where we have to improve the teaching of economic sciences and the real financial economic activity—not the theoretical activity—and thus see to it that the graduates of the economic institutes know everything about socioeconomic financing, self-financing, and everything these notions involve. All the cadres in sectors, and all specialists should possess a minimum economic and financial knowledge in order to properly fulfill their activity, starting with the management of a section or of a team, because the financial-economic responsibility begins with the section, the team, and the foremen. In this respect, firm measures are required in order to improve and raise the general level of our cadre training, and we should ensure proper technological and professional training, in accordance with the continuous development of technology and science, and see to it that each person appropriately fulfills the mission incumbent on him in the production process.

It is necessary to adopt firm measures for the rotation, training, and further improvement of the skills and abilities of all working people and cadres in all fields.

In implementing self-management and self-administration, particular importance devolves on the remuneration system aimed at ensuring that the incomes of the working people in all fields are based on the fulfillment of production targets and on the work done by everybody in a given sector. We have good laws! We must firmly apply the principles of the overall contract system! Let us firmly apply the socialist remuneration principles, so that nobody can obtain incomes without work and so that everybody is paid in keeping with the work in his sector. However, I would like to seriously draw attention to the fact that all enterprise and ministry managements are duty-bound to take all steps to ensure the necessary contracts and conditions for production fulfillment, so that the people can really earn the envisaged incomes through work.

I believe that the trade unions should become more involved in all activity on remuneration and in the organization and development of work in enterprises. However, this does not diminish in the least the responsibility of each management council in enterprises, central departments, and ministries. Of course, as I have already said, if a given enterprise has not obtained the necessary orders to justify the employment of all its working people, then one should examine the situation in time and take appropriate steps to redistribute and rationally use the manpower. Generally speaking, we do not have excessive manpower; on the contrary, we even have a manpower deficit. However, certain sectors employ too many people, a situation which is completely unjustified. There is no doubt that this also has a negative impact on the entire collective's incomes and on labor productivity.

Our plan provides for a regional development of the forces of production such as will ensure working conditions for all working people. All our young graduates from schools and universities were given jobs last fall. Nobody was left without a job, and we will constantly ensure that this remains the case! However, we must do this in a rational way, which does not run counter to development; this should be an impetus for good development and for a greater increase in labor productivity, incomes, and the overall well-being of our people! (Loud applause)

As we decided at the Party National Conference, in the second half of this year we will raise the pay of all categories of working people by about 10 percent. However, this requires resolute measures to implement the socioeconomic development plan, increase labor productivity, and keep prices in check, something which we managed to do quite well thus far during the current 5-year plan. We are convinced that we will fulfill the overall 5-year plan provisions in this sphere, so that the stipulated pay increase should lead to a real increase in the working people's remuneration and incomes.

We must take resolute steps to fulfill all programs in other fields, including the health and housing sectors, as they represent the totality of our efforts to develop the

fatherland, raise Romania to a new development stage, and further increase the people's material and intellectual standard of living. This is the essence of our party policy and the supreme goal of the comprehensively developed socialist society we are successfully building in Romania! (Loud cheers and applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!")

Esteemed Comrades, we have clear, long-term plans and programs for the fatherland's socioeconomic development this year, in the 1986-90 5-year plan, and up to the year 2000. This will ensure our fatherland's transition to the ranks of medium-developed countries as early as the beginning of the next decade; toward the end of that decade, that is around the year 2000, Romania will become a comprehensively developed country in which the socialist principles of work and life will be fully applied and conditions will be created for a transition to implementing the strategic goals of our party policy and achieving the golden dream, communism! (Loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!")

We have everything required to implement these wonderful prospects. We have a strong material and technical base but, as I have already said, the people have the decisive role. Now, at the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People, I would like to state that our entire workers class, all working people, the peasantry, intelligentsia, and all builders of the socialist society in our fatherland are honorably fulfilling their mission. With such people and builders of socialism working in a revolutionary spirit, we have the supreme guarantee that we will overcome any difficulties and will reach, not before too long, the high peaks of the communist society! (Loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People")

We should take resolute steps to base all activity on the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing. Let us properly administer and further develop our national wealth and the means entrusted to each collective of working people. Let us further improve the management and planning of all socioeconomic activity, proceeding from the basic principles adopted during the socialist development of our fatherland, principles that were confirmed by life. We have a broad democratic system. Let us work to better harmonize the activity of our state bodies with that of the bodies of our revolutionary workers democracy, thus creating all conditions for the state bodies and the bodies of our revolutionary workers democracy to commendably fulfill their role in all spheres.

I particularly wish to emphasize the need to increase the role of central departments, in their capacity as basic units, in running and leading all socioeconomic activity.

The central department—when I talk about a central department, I mean all the units that make it up—its management council, and the central department as an

organizational unit must bear direct responsibility for drafting and implementing the plan. As a matter of fact, as of this year we proceeded to drafting these plans for each central department. We must start from the need to fully use production capacities and to take into consideration the requirements of our national economy. No central department—and I emphasize this point—should be left outside the activity of drafting and implementing the plan; this is a main prerogative and a basic issue of democratic economic management, of self-management, and of self-administration.

Economic-financial problems and the drafting of budgets for each central department and enterprise are connected with this issue. Each central department, which functions on the basis of the principles of self-management and self-administration, must have its own income and expenditure budget to finance its entire activity. Within a central department, each enterprise must also have its own production plan and budget, and must operate on the basis of self-management and self-financing.

The ministries must bear responsibility for the way in which they organize activities and must help and guide the work of central departments and enterprises, without replacing them. We have renounced the practice of having a plan for each ministry; we now have plans for each central department. The ministry has the plans of the central departments at its disposal, for its activity and accountability, but it is not a plan executor itself. The true plan executor is the central department and the enterprise! They are the basic units operating on the basis of self-administration and self-management. This is the essence of management based on the new principles in our economy, and we must apply them most firmly! (Loud and prolonged applause)

I want everybody to understand me properly. The increase in the responsibility of central departments and enterprises means neither anarchy nor the violation of the basic principles of the uniform national development plan, of the principles guiding the financing activity, and of other provisions of our economic-financial management system and our workers democracy.

Proceeding from this, you must be aware of the important role played by the management councils in central departments and enterprises, by the directors, who are chairmen of the executive bureaus in the central departments, and by the working people's councils, in their capacity as organized bodies; you must also realize the great responsibility devolving on the financial bodies in all these units. In this respect, we must improve—and I reiterate this—the entire guidance and management work in all spheres of activity.

In view of all this, I would like to come back to the problem of raising the level of training of our management cadres. A short while ago, I spoke about education. In keeping with the decisions of the 13th Party Congress and the party program, we must take steps to raise the

training level of all our cadres, beginning with ministers, with central department managers, and all management cadres from the top to the bottom. Within the framework of existing structures, we must organize a new system of training all cadres. Beginning with this year, we must ensure that all central department directors attend these courses. We should no longer appoint central department directors who do not have at least this kind of training. This also applies to management, with all it implies. I do not wish to dwell upon this point now, but I repeat, this also applies to ministry cadres, ministers, government cadres, as well as party cadres. The new problems that arise require a new knowledge of these vast fields of activity, and we must assume the responsibility and take steps to appropriately train cadres in all fields. This is a very important prerequisite, without which we cannot ensure the smooth development of all our activity!

We should pay greater attention to the organization and proceeding of the general meetings of working people, who are both owners and producers. I believe that there is still much to be done in this respect, in order to ensure that all working people—in their capacity as owners in charge of all activity—are acting in a spirit of great responsibility. We must ensure that the working people and their general meetings decide truly, not just formally, on all problems of our socioeconomic activity and exercise firmer control on management cadres and the working people's councils.

As I have often said in the past, I would now like to reiterate that the activity of all management bodies, from the top to the bottom, must always be under the direct leadership of the working people and all the people. Only thus can we strongly develop a spirit of responsibility and achieve true revolutionary workers democracy, which is the essence or, in better terms, the essential element of successfully building our socialist society. We are building socialism with the people and for the people. This means that we should do everything so that the people can truly fulfill their role as the conscious builders of their own free and independent future! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!")

In this respect, I would like to talk about the activity of the National Council of Working People. From the beginning, I said that the basic cadres of our economy, the representatives of the working people, and the experts directly involved in production are present here. Within this council, we have achieved a democratic nationwide blending of the activity of management cadres, experts, and workers directly involved in the production process, so that everybody, with their own way of understanding problems, can contribute in a uniform and democratic way to discussing problems, establishing development programs and plans, and implementing the party decisions.

I believe that there are few countries with such nationwide democratic structures for discussing and running the working people's activity. Of course, each country is solving its problems in accordance with its own domestic conditions and wishes. We do not claim that our way of solving problems should be a model for somebody else. We believe that what we have done proceeds from Romania's realities and from the socialist principles of ensuring that the basic problems of socialist development should be resolved by the collective efforts of the best forces available to our society in various fields. In this respect, the National Council of Working People represents such a democratic body! (Loud and prolonged applause) However, this also requires a spirit of responsibility on our part and on the part of everybody else in discussing problems, adopting decisions, and proceeding to their implementation in actual fact. The National Council is not a mere show body for applause or the endorsement of certain plans or measures. It must be a democratic body that acts and ensures the implementation of development programs, of the 13th Party Congress decisions, and of the program for our fatherland's progress toward the peaks of socialism and communism! (Loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-Romania, Our Esteem and Pridel" and "Ceausescu and the People!")

All this requires that, along with the aforementioned measures, we should intensify the political-educational activity of raising the revolutionary awareness of all members of our democratic bodies, of cadres from all sectors, and of all working people. We must properly realize that the political-educational activity of shaping the new man, with a high revolutionary consciousness, is a very important element of the new development stage of our society. The mastering of science, technology, and the achievements of overall science and universal knowledge combined with a high revolutionary awareness, must indeed ensure activity that is in keeping with requirements of the new stage. We must have cadres that always know how to solve the most complex problems and how to act in a spirit of complete unity to implement the programs for socioeconomic development, with a view to raising our fatherland to a new development stage and strengthening the independence and sovereignty of Romania! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the People!")

Esteemed Comrades, while giving priority to the implementation of our fatherland's socioeconomic development program, we never forget that we must act in a responsible spirit to contribute to solving major international problems, bringing about disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and achieving a lasting peace and new and democratic relations among all nations in the world, on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states, and mutual advantage.

I discussed various international problems at the Party National Conference and in other democratic bodies; therefore, I shall be very brief.

The situation is such that it requires greater efforts to halt the still dangerous course of international events. It is true that an agreement on intermediate-range missiles was reached between the Soviet Union and the United States. We hailed this agreement and we consider it an important step, but just a first step, along these lines, as there are still huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons, which can destroy the whole of mankind several times over and the existence of life itself on our planet. Therefore, we believe that everything possible should be done to reach further measures and agreements on reducing the strategic nuclear weapons of the United States and the Soviet Union by 50 percent, on putting an end to nuclear tests, on halting the militarization of outer space, and on proceeding to the adoption of further steps to totally eliminate nuclear weapons. As long as nuclear weapons continue to exist and to be manufactured, nobody can consider the situation devoid of danger!

It is also necessary to work—and we will resolutely act along these lines—to bring about conventional disarmament, by proceeding to radically reduce conventional weapons under strict international control. We speak out for renouncing chemical weapons and other mass destruction weapons. We think that the time is ripe to tackle the problem of withdrawing foreign troops from the territory of other states, proceeding to dismantle foreign military bases, taking firm steps to end all acts of force or the threat of force, as well as the shows of force near the borders of various countries. The proposals advanced by Romania in this respect are known to everybody. I just mentioned a few of them now, because I believe that our representatives in disarmament and other international bodies, as well as those active in the sphere of relations with other states, must daily work in a spirit of great responsibility to contribute to a transition to negotiations and real measures in this respect.

We firmly advocate the resolution of interstate problems through negotiations alone. In view of recent events in the territories occupied by Israel, we believe that everybody should realize that it is high time to organize an international conference on a political solution to these problems, by ensuring the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including the creation of their own state.

We also speak out for halting the war between Iran and Iraq and, in general, for solving all problems between states through negotiations alone!

The economic situation is faced with serious problems and the forecasts for this year alone are quite gloomy. The situation of the developing countries continues to deteriorate. Therefore, we are determined to actively participate, along with all developing countries and all

other states, in organizing a UN-sponsored international conference on solving the problems of underdevelopment, including the foreign debt of developing countries.

All this requires now, more than ever before, a broad development of cooperation among all states, regardless of size and social system, and their active participation in solving the serious problems in the world.

It is necessary to increase the role of the United Nations and other international bodies, because only through negotiations and understandings can we reach solutions which are in accordance with the interests of all states, and that can ensure the free and independent development of each nation.

As far as Romania is concerned, it will take firm steps to broadly develop its ties with all countries. We will continue to pay particular attention to relations with the socialist countries, as we have actually done so far, proceeding from the need to overcome differences and strengthen the cooperation and solidarity of all developing countries.

In this respect, one can generally say that our relations with the socialist countries can be considered good. Unfortunately, we cannot say the same thing about the relations of the SR of Romania with the Hungarian People's Republic. We have acted and continue to take firm steps to strengthen friendly and good-neighborly relations with Hungary. We believe that the interests of both nations—all the more so, as both are building socialism—require that we completely end the old states of affairs and proceed from the need to develop relations in the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries and in the spirit of good-neighborliness, solidarity, and mutually advantageous cooperation in all fields.

Everybody should properly understand, including our friends in Hungary as well as all states, that problems in Romania are being solved by the party, the government, democratic bodies, and all the Romanian people! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; chants: "Ceausescu and the People!" and "Our Esteem and Pride—Ceausescu, Romania!")

The concept of scientific socialism and the Marxist-Leninist principles require that everybody should primarily struggle against chauvinism within their own ranks and against nationalism within their own ranks, and that nobody should encourage or stimulate such manifestations, which are alien not only to socialist and human concepts, but also to concepts of good-neighborly relations between states. (Loud and prolonged applause)

We have always struggled against and will continue to fight any manifestations of this kind, should they ever occur in Romania in one form or another. We believe that such manifestations are alien to our socialist society and we must do everything to totally eliminate them.

The achievement of full equality of rights means creating conditions for all citizens, regardless of who their parents might have been, to enjoy the right to work, to education, and to the assertion of the human personality; it also means enabling them to work in any field, in accordance with their training and abilities, and to fully contribute to the overall development of our country and socialist society! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!")

There is no doubt that different solutions may be applied to certain problems and there may be different ways of solving a given problem. We have talked about this for a long time and we have always maintained this point, even at a time when some people, including our neighbors, said that we are deviating from real socialism because we proceeded and continue to firmly set out from our ability to understand and apply general principles and laws to our realities. Maybe we failed to understand them all that well. When we reach a different understanding of these problems, we may draw better conclusions. We never asked anybody to approve or copy us; on the other hand, it is obvious that we do not permit anyone to pose as omniscient and give us advice on a given problem. (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!")

We are in favor of broad exchanges of views with anyone and we even suggested to certain developed capitalist countries and their parliaments: Do you want to discuss problems? We are ready! Our delegations and yours should meet and discuss them! We are eager to meet and discuss problems with the socialist countries, all the more so. As a matter of fact, a number of meetings between socialist countries are now in progress and many problems are being discussed; however, I must frankly say that they are not always discussing what should be discussed and not openly enough, as it should be! But this is another matter. We advocate a broad exchange of opinions without anyone claiming the right to impose his views on the others. In the last instance, the exchange of views on all fields depends on the degree of understanding of the other side in the discussion!

However, this cannot and should in no way affect the relations of cooperation between two neighborly and friendly states as well as the ties between states in general and we firmly speak out for broadly developing relations with all countries in the world. All the more so, I repeat, we want relations of good cooperation with our neighbors! We believe that there are many opportunities for broadly developing economic, scientific-technical, and cultural relations between the Romanian and Hungarian peoples and between Romania and Hungary—our two neighboring states—so that together we can strengthen solidarity, commendably build socialism, each one of us in his own way, increase the well-being of our peoples, and ensure peace and cooperation. (Loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!" and "Ceausescu-Romania, Our Esteem and Pride!")

I deemed it necessary to raise this issue before this body of our workers democracy because a number of comrades indirectly referred to these problems during our discussions. Many of them may still be confused. I thought it appropriate to raise this problem before the National Council of Working People so that everybody knows what it is all about, how we see this problem, and how we are going to further proceed in the interest of both our peoples and of the cause of socialism and peace. (Loud applause)

Generally speaking, in view of the particularly serious problems in the world—notwithstanding the progress made—we must resolutely commit ourselves to act in such a way as to strengthen international cooperation and solidarity and intensify the struggle of peoples everywhere for disarmament, to eliminate nuclear weapons, to reduce military expenditures, and for a better and more just world, with a view to seeing mankind into the year 2000 and into the 21st century in better shape, and ensuring that each nation can develop in freedom and independence! Let us implement the principles of the new political and economic thinking, which calls for giving up the old practices and concepts, and presupposes a new and humanistic concept of equality and socioeconomic progress for each nation. (Loud and prolonged applause)

Esteemed Comrades, the discussions of the National Council of the Working People and the unanimous adoption of the Decision-Appeal and of the 1988 plan strongly emphasize the firm determination of all participants in the plenary meeting, all working people's councils, and the whole nation to unwaveringly fulfill the plan for this year and the entire 5-year plan, thus raising Romania to a new stage of development! (Loud and prolonged applause)

In conclusion, I would like once more to draw attention to the need to commendably fulfill the plan for February, for the first quarter, and for the entire year. All members of the National Council of Working People should be among the front ranks, in order to unite all the working people's efforts aimed at unflinchingly implementing the decisions of the 13th congress and the national conference of the party. Let us do everything to unswervingly fulfill our wonderful prospects and the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensure Romania's progress toward communism! (Loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCPI" and "Ceausescu and the People!")

Let us always be aware of the fact that the way in which each working people's collective is fulfilling plan provisions in its own field of activity represents a contribution to implementing the entire party-state domestic and foreign policy, promoting a policy of cooperation and peace, strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty, and raising the whole nation's living standard! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged

chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the People!", and "We Will Work and We Will Struggle—The Fatherland We Will Raise!")

I am convinced that our discussions and the decisions we adopted will give new impetus and will radically improve the entire activity of all democratic management bodies, including the National Council of Working People.

With this conviction, I extend to you all, dear comrades, to all management councils, to all working people, and to our whole nation best wishes for success in the entire activity and the fulfillment of all strivings and aspirations for a better life and for the fatherland's progress!

Much health and happiness! (Loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the People!", and "Ceausescu-Romania, Our Esteem and Pride!")

I declare the proceedings of the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People closed! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the People!", and "Ceausescu-Romania, Our Esteem and Pride!". In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and close unity, all those present in the hall stand up and cheer and there are prolonged acclamations for the RCP, the leading political force of the entire nation, and for Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania)

Mikulic Arrives in Canada on Official Visit
LD100447 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0347 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Ottawa, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Branko Mikulic arrived here today on an official visit to Canada.

On the visit's first day, Mikulic is to hold official talks with his host, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

Later on today, Mikulic is scheduled to tour the Canadian parliament and hold talks with the deputies.

Mikulic is the first high-ranking Yugoslav official to make an official visit to Canada since 1971, when President Tito was that country's guest.

Iraqi Foreign Minister Arrives in Belgrade

Talks With Loncar
LD091735 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1614 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—The foreign ministers of Yugoslavia and Iraq, Budimir Loncar and Tariq 'Aziz, began talks this afternoon which are expected to be devoted to developing bilateral, primarily economic, cooperation; and, on international themes, to the Gulf war and efforts to end it, the situation in the occupied Arab territories, and Nonaligned Movement activities. The talks between Loncar and his eminent guest will continue tomorrow.

Tariq 'Aziz arrived today on a 2-day working visit to Yugoslavia. Accompanying him is, among others, Iraq's permanent representative at the United Nations, Ismat Kittani. This fact indicates that one of the key areas in the exchange of opinions in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs will involve UN Security Council Resolution 598, which calls for an end to the war between Iraq and Iran. Baghdad has said it favors implementing this resolution.

Yugoslavia became a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council at the beginning of this year.

Iraqi Debt Discussed
LD092137 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2008 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—The relations between Yugoslavia and Iraq are comprehensive and substantial; they are being constructed on firm foundations and both countries wish to further advance their overall cooperation and have an interest in this.

This was stressed this evening by the foreign ministers of Yugoslavia and Iraq, Budimir Loncar and Tariq 'Aziz, in a detailed exchange of opinions which included a wide range of topical bilateral and international issues.

The deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Iraq is on a 2-day friendly working visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar. The visit by 'Aziz is part of the continuing dialogue between Belgrade and Baghdad and reflects the exceptional development of mutual friendly relations and understanding. It also represents a contribution to the activities of the Non-aligned Movement, in which both countries have a prominent role.

Budimir Loncar, Tariq 'Aziz and their close colleagues said that it is necessary to make mutual efforts to allow relations and cooperation between the two countries, particularly as far as economic links are concerned, to diversify unhindered, despite both sides' well-known economic difficulties. It was also stressed that the goodwill exists to overcome certain difficulties in economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Iraq. In this connection Loncar stressed the need for a successful conclusion to negotiations on the repayment of debts to Yugoslavia. Both sides expressed the hope that the continuation of these negotiations this month in Belgrade will be concluded to mutual satisfaction.

In the part of the talks concerned with international issues, most attention was devoted to the war between Iraq and Iran, to UN Security Council Resolution 598, to questions related to its implementation and to other activities which aim to find a peaceful solution to that long and tragic conflict.

Tariq 'Aziz stated in detail Iraq's points of view and stances on the issue of the war and the problems connected with ending it. He also spoke about the general Gulf situation.

The foreign ministers of Yugoslavia and Iraq expressed their support for Resolution 598, adding that complete implementation of that resolution would provide necessary political support to the efforts of the international community to end the Gulf war. In this respect the two sides gave their support to activities aimed at implementing Resolution 598.

Loncar and 'Aziz stressed the importance of the contribution made by nonaligned countries and their role in seeking ways to end the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran. In this connection the importance was noted of nonaligned countries' actions, as a moving force in the UN Security Council working to achieve the stated goal.

The talks between Budimir Loncar and Tariq 'Aziz will continue tomorrow.

EEC To Invest in SFRY Road Improvements
LD091921 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1709 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, Feb. 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav and E.C. delegations today completed talks on the liberalization of the road transport. The talks will later be resumed at the level of road transport specialists.

The E.C. delegation stated that the "twelve" are ready to invest efforts towards improving transit conditions in Yugoslavia, including the construction and modernization of the infrastructure.

The Yugoslav delegation underscored Yugoslavia's interest in securing more favorable conditions for the appearance of Yugoslav transporters on the E.C. market.

Yugoslavia's priority in the development of transport is the construction of a trans-Yugoslav highway, from the border with Austria in the north to the border with Greece in the south. The highway will represent the shortest distance between European countries and the Middle East.

The highway, 1183 kilometers long, is to be completed by 1991. Over one half of the highway has already been completed, while 638 kilometers still remain to be constructed.

The second priority of the Yugoslav Government is to construct and modernize its main roads such as the motorway from its border with Hungary to Belgrade, which will be connected to the trans-Yugoslav highway and trans-European direction E-5 "north-south".

The Yugoslav Government has also made a draft on financing these projects, which envisages that around 40 percent of the necessary funds be obtained through foreign credits and the rest collected from domestic sources, primarily taxes on the prices of oil derivatives.

Krunic Address: Media on LCY Conference
AU081925 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 7 Feb 88

[Djordje Vlajic report from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] Last week the chiefs and responsible editors from newspapers, radio, and television had an opportunity to talk with top people in the country about constitutional change and preparations for the forthcoming LCY conference. As usual these talks are held primarily as an internal briefing of the media representatives, but on this occasion, Bosko Kronic, president of the LCY Central Committee, gave permission for parts of his speech on preparations for the LC conference to be broadcast on this program. Djordje Vlajic reports:

The Statute defines a LCY conference as a form of Central Committee work. It is possible that this conference has not been best placed in the organizational and political setup, but this could be a topic for the next congress and talks on changes in the statute.

The LCY conference has the opportunity to produce an agreement for action at the top level and should be an opportunity for a discussion on important and topical issues and to establish its views on them. The Central Committee is obliged to discuss these views and decide

on them. Therefore, the conference is not an organ, but this does not reduce its importance, and especially the need for it to be held at this moment. This was, among other things, stressed by Bosko Kronic. This kind of statutory definition of the role of an LC conference does not reduce its obligation to mobilize members and ensure unity in action and to make necessary changes in the organization of the LC, particularly in its leaderships.

Considering the increasingly acute economic and political crisis, the LCY must prove through this conference that it is a movement and a party which will solve the crisis, Bosko Kronic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed in his talk to the media chiefs and responsible editors.

[Begin Kronic recording] Since the crisis has been intensifying and since it has been moving in a negative direction for a number of years, social tensions have also been rising and, according to an inevitable and unavoidable tendency, we are moving from an economic crisis toward a social crisis, toward neglecting political requirements. Unemployment remains despite all the efforts to reduce it. In that respect we still do not have a consistent policy, which would be fully applied in practice, because most often job prospects are in the small business sector which is seen as the private sector. Social differences are becoming more acute in the way that they make the problem politically important and difficult, because the number of people on the opposite poles of the social ladder is growing. Of course, this is undermining people's confidence and belief in the system of socialist self-management. Work stoppages or strikes are also on the increase. To tell the truth, one should have expected that a radical turn toward economic reforms would cause social unrest and dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction with leaderships in particular is growing. This is more evident nearer to the top rather than bottom. Opposition, which could influence the formation of a negative mood in society, is on the increase in some newspapers too. I therefore believe that orientation toward some kind of apologetic press is not going to become stronger. This is in fact impossible. But there will have to be more order in the sense of the LC's greater influence on a constructive role of the entire press and its general orientation, rather than on destructive manners and tensions, and an a priori negative view which is increasingly felt in some newspapers. Lately we have been losing sight of the objective circumstances which have also significantly contributed to the crisis intensifying and spreading, and that these objective circumstances, which primarily refer to our international position, economic situation, and the degree of indebtedness, are growing. [end recording]

Answering the question of how one should solve the crisis, Kronic said that this question had been basically answered at the 13th LCY Congress.

[Begin Kronic recording] It is clear that the crisis cannot be overcome with this kind of situation and this tendency of eight trumpets being played in eight different

keys, and with the existing situation in the process of reaching accords and agreements, and the lack of homogeneity at the highest level. At present the situation is such that in this game there are numerous schools that, influenced by the economic situation, propose temporary, transitory, or permanent measures of economic development and economic policy. In my opinion all this is not bad. In fact one could say that this is good, even needed. But in this process political entities should make quicker decisions and assume the risk and responsibility themselves. Of course, under political entities I mean above all the organized, associated labor in delegates' assemblies and other associations. [end recording]

Speaking about the need for enhancing unity in the LC, Bosko Kronic said that the current disunity in the party is a logical consequence of a negative trend in socioeconomic development in recent years.

[Begin Kronic recording] It is probably not true at all and it is the greatest illusion to wish that the LC and its leadership can and must be united according to the program and the statute proclamation and organization, and that therefore it must decisively exert influence on unity in the country as a whole. Of course, one must take into account the fact that the lack of unity in the country, different interests and views are manifested and expressed to the same extent in the LC itself. This may appear to be a vicious circle, but in reality it is not like that. Of course the way out of the crisis is not through a meek approach, opportunism, or by the middle road as the old Latin proverb says, *medio tutissimus ibis*. I think that we should clearly define what we already have as our program and congress tenets regarding the LC role and the direction of our development. I am convinced that today more than ever before the congress resolutions, which we have to follow at all levels, are inadequately known, or to be more precise, little known in the LC membership itself. In fact we have a fairly low level of ideopolitical motivation, ability, and discipline in the LC on the work and realization of our tasks. If we are not more resolute and timely, if we do not see the overall danger of this situation, then it is certain that the same things will happen again, that is that the national and regional interests that have been manifested in our republics and provinces, appear as an obstacle to a quicker solution to the crisis and as the main stronghold of all centrifugal forces that intensively operate in society and increasingly distance us from each other. Power over income, which has been descending from the top of the tree for a number of years, is persistently remains on the republican and provincial branches which should now be shaken rather than cut off. On the other hand, in the federation there are strong tendencies toward normativism. I want to say that we will not solve the crisis by turning toward some different kind of internal concept of Yugoslavia, by returning to some concept, or by allowing tendencies toward confederalism and divisions in general. [end recording]

Democratic relations must be developed within the LC so that they become inherent in the self-managing system

in a way which would prevent the blocking of the party life by consensus or some other means. The LC cannot go back to undemocratic methods, particularly to the life of directives in the party.

[Begin Kronic recording] Differentiation will be necessary to the extent to which it will be on the right track, that is on overcoming the crisis. This is why it seems to me that the conference has to contribute to the cultivation of the political life, that is the organized work and involvement of all subjective factors on crucial issues and on the realization of recognizable, clear, and unavoidable tasks. The conference is now needed as a necessary station in which a thorough check of our organization and work on the implementation of the congress resolutions will be undertaken, but not according to the entire range of the set tasks in all nine congress resolutions and regarding all the raised questions. But it should be instructive, understandable, clear, and inspirational regarding the main tasks set by the congress. The conference should also contribute toward the responsibility of the organs, particularly LC organs, and the entire organization so that the whole work is thoughtfully oriented. Thus, it is not and will not be a small congress. [end recording]

This was stated by Bosko Kronic, president of the LCY Central Committee, in his talks with the chiefs and responsible editors from Yugoslav press, radio, and television.

Kosovo Polje Veterans Discuss Serb Grievances
AU082209 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian
4 Feb 88 p 5

[H. Sylva article: "Criticism Must Be Reasoned..."]

[Text] A meeting of the National Liberation War Veterans Association was held in the Kosovo Polje 17th Local Community 2 days ago to discuss preventing Serb and Montenegrin emigration, the activity of Miljenko Pantovic, and other issues concerning the political and security situation in Kosovo Polje. The meeting highlighted many problems preoccupying this area, especially the problem of emigration, which is still encumbering the general situation, and in which connection most speakers blamed and criticized leaders of the Communal Committee and of other organs of the Communal Assembly, demanding that some of these should be faced with their responsibility.

Stojan Ognjanovic, president of this veterans association, stressed in his opening speech that, even though we have clear conclusions on the subject of emigration from the LCY Central Committee Ninth Plenum, it still continues with undiminished intensity. In the last 20 years 200 Serbian and Montenegrin families from the 17th Local Community have abandoned their homes, and the factors influencing this process have still not

been eradicated. He mentioned that, in spite of unanimous opposition to the opening of the "Stric" restaurant, which is disturbing the peace and causing problems, the restaurant had nonetheless started work. As a sign of protest against the purchase of this restaurant by two rich Albanians, Limon Nimani and Nebih Idrizi, the citizens of 17th Street had erected notices reading "House for Sale" and "Street for Sale."

As Ognjanovic said, the opening of a restaurant is more important for some people than the problem of Serb and Montenegrin emigration. The 17th Street is a serious example of the lack of proper understanding of citizens' grievances and the failure to prevent emigration, which is being encouraged by many factors, such as physical assaults, attempted rapes, attacks on graveyards, maltreatment at work, and the construction of public housing in Bresje which, he said, is being built with the definite purpose of improving the local balance of nationalities in the Albanians' favor. While a whole complex of several hundred houses is springing up in Kosovo Polje, Bresje, and Uglar, inhabited by Albanians who do harm to the Serbs and Montenegrins, the inspection authorities are doing nothing to prevent such housing construction.

Among other things, Stojan Ognjanovic mentioned that 22 community issues were given priority 2 years ago, but since then only five have been settled. According to him, the leaders of the Communal Assembly Executive Committee quickly forget their duties.

Veseljcin Maslarevic, the first speaker at this meeting, drew attention to the activity of the Catholic clergy in the district, who, he said, are totally unhindered in their operations. Sejdo Bajramovic, member of the Pristina Veterans Association Presidency, advocated more effective work and greater commitment on the part of all to eradicate the factors encouraging emigration and to create conditions for the return of those who wish to do so.

Sreten Martinovic said that it is no good always talking about the same things and not producing reasons, and demanded that things should be called by their proper names. Up to now, he said, we have not criticized without giving reasons. This speaker, too, criticized the inspection authorities for allowing unauthorized housing construction in the district. Zivojin Martinovic said that in the last 10 years not a single young man had been sent to the reserve officers school, and asked whether it was not clear why this was so. Like many others, he too demanded that Miljenko Pantovic's responsibility should be examined, and that measures should be taken against him because of his passivity and indolence, about which his basic LC organization must say something.

Kosovo TU Notes Albanian Activity, Strikes
AU101151 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
6 Feb 88 p 16

[M. Vujovic article: "High Level of Consciousness in the Working Class"]

[Text] Pristina, 5 Feb—At today's session of the Kosovo Trade Union Council [KTUC] devoted to trade union activity in realizing the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum, it was said that questions of responsibility and differentiation have sharpened in Kosovo. However, a number of trade union organizations have not carried out their planned tasks, which has left room for the activity of hostile forces.

The activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists, although lesser in degree than before, is expressing itself through attacks on the persons and property of members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities, and through demands that Kosovo become a republic, Abdylaziz Sadiku, member of the KTUC Presidium, said in his report. He also said that the activity of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists is becoming more organized and expresses itself in attacks against our sociopolitical system, LCY policy, and the personality and achievements of Comrade Tito. Serbian nationalists, Sadiku said, constantly attack leading cadres of Albanian nationality with the aim of discrediting and obstructing the LCY's activity, as well as discrediting Serbian and Montenegrin cadres who are persistently and determinedly struggling to achieve a permanent stabilization of the situation.

It was said at the meeting that the deterioration of material and social conditions, especially of workers in production and employees in education and health, has made the political and security situation more complex. Because of these grievances, there have been 62 work stoppages in Kosovo since the ninth plenum.

Participating in the discussion, Azem Vlasi, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, said that it is still necessary to affirm more strongly the results achieved by the workers' class since 1981 in stabilizing the situation in the province. He said that the question of responsibility has become more important, especially since the Ninth Plenum, although differentiation must not be abused for personal defamation or to assist people in settling personal scores.

Vlasi said that work stoppages have mainly occurred because workers have been poorly informed about the situation in their collectives. Therefore, workers must be given frank and objective details. Kosovo is low on the list in connection with strikes in the country, Vlasi said, stressing that this is not because there are fewer problems, but primarily because of the high level of consciousness of the workers' class, who do not wish to encumber the situation with work stoppages.

Today's meeting of the KTUC proposed Sava Komadinic, previously a member of the KTUC Presidium, as new president of the KTUC Presidium.